

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921.
VOLUME III.

ASSAM.

PART I.—REPORT.

BY

G. T. LLOYD,

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,
SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, ASSAM.



SHILLONG :

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, ASSAM.

1923.

Price Rs. 4-8.]

[Price 6s.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PARA.		PAGE
1—10.	INTRODUCTION	i—v
1—16.	CHAPTER I.—DISTRIBUTION AND MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.	
1—3.	(i) The area dealt with	1
4—5.	(ii) The population dealt with	1—2
6—7.	(iii) Area, population, and density	2—3
8—10.	(iv) Variations at previous censuses	3—4
11—19.	(v) Conditions of the decade 1911—1921	4—7
20—23.	(vi) The movement of the population	7—9
24—46.	(vii) Density and variation in natural divisions	9—22
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	23—28
47—50.	CHAPTER II.—THE POPULATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES	29—31
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	32—33
51—63.	CHAPTER III.—BIRTHPLACE	34—44
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	45—49
64—74.	CHAPTER IV.—RELIGION	50—58
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	59—61
75—86.	CHAPTER V.—AGE	62—70
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	71—79
87—94.	CHAPTER VI.—SEX	80—84
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	85—90
95—102.	CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL CONDITION	91—95
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	96—101
103—111.	CHAPTER VIII.—LITERACY	102—108
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	109—113
112—124.	CHAPTER IX.—LANGUAGE	114—124
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	125—127
125—134.	CHAPTER X.—INFIRMITIES	128—156
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	137—140
135—143.	CHAPTER XI.—CASTE, TRIBE, RACE OR NATIONALITY	141—151
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	152—155
144—177.	CHAPTER XII.—OCCUPATION	
144—149.	(i) The occupations of the people	156—161
150—156.	(ii) Agriculture and animals	161—163
157.	(iii) Fishing	164
158—161.	(iv) Transport	164—165
162—166.	(v) Trade and Commerce	165—170
167—172.	(vi) Industries	170—176
173—176.	(vii) Labour	176—180
177.	(viii) Economic condition of the people	180—181
	SUBSIDIARY TABLES	182—199
	APPENDIX	
Appendix A.	Vital statistics and census figures:	viii—ix
" B.	I-IV Notes on certain frontier tribes	x—xvi
" C.	Connection of different Naga and other tribes in Assam—their origin and customs.	xvii—xix
" D.	Disposal of the dead among Naga tribes and others	xx
" E.	Some cottage industries of Karimganj	xxi—xxvi
" F.	Family budgets	xxvii—xxxiv
" G.	Estimate of production and average individual income in 1921-22.	xxxv

INTRODUCTION.

1. The Assam Census Report, which counts as Volume III in the series of provincial reports of India, has two parts—Part I, the report proper, and Part II, the Tables. These are printed in separate volumes, and in order to save the reader the trouble of constantly referring to the Tables Volume, and also to present the statistics in proportional instead of absolute form, a number of subsidiary tables is given in this (Report) volume. A third part, the Administrative Report, is also published, but this is purely for use at the next census and contains details of no general interest.

The plan of the present report differs little from that of the last census. Chapters I and II have been divided differently, but the subjects of the other chapters remain as before.

2. This, the sixth Census of Assam, was taken on the evening of the 18th March 1921. In 1872 Assam was included in Bengal; in 1911, it was censused as a part of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, but a separate report was written for Assam; in all the other decennial censuses, taken in 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1921, the province has been a separate unit.

3. A few additions have been made to the area censused in 1911. A tract of Konyak tribe territory in the north-east of the Naga Hills and some Khamti, Singpho, Abor, Mishmi and Naga villages to the north and east of the Sadiya Frontier Tract and the Lakhimpur district have been brought under census for the first time; and a small area with two villages has been transferred from Bengal to the Sylhet district.

An administrative change of importance has been the creation in 1912-14 of the two new districts, Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts. The census of these tracts was taken only in the old settled parts transferred from the districts of Lakhimpur and Darrang, and in certain other parts regularly administered by the Political Officers. There is no defined outer boundary to these tracts, and no attempt was made to extend the census to the hills inhabited by tribes which are only under loose political control.

4. Detailed accounts of the arrangements, difficulties and expenditure have been given in the Administrative Report, published separately. The procedure has differed little from that of 1911. The following general summary is given to enable the reader to understand how the results have been arrived at and to judge of the reliance to be placed on the statistics.

There are fourteen districts and one State included in the province. These contain thirty-four subdivisions including those directly under district headquarters. As in previous censuses, every district was divided into blocks, each under an enumerator (almost always a local man), whose duty it was to make the entries in the 16 columns of the general schedule for every person in the block. There were over 47,000 such blocks, containing on an average 36 houses.

In the remoter parts of the hills, where long distances separate villages and literate men are scarce, the enumerators had to deal with much larger blocks. In the hill mauzas of the Garo Hills, for instance, the average rose as high as 177 houses. Tribal blocks in the Naga Hills were equal to circles and in some cases contained over 2,000 houses. In such cases the enumerator took several weeks to make his round.

Blocks were grouped into census circles of about 400 houses each; the circles were combined into charges each under a Charge Superintendent, whose charge usually embraced about 15 circles or 6,000 houses. Circles and charges were arranged generally to coincide with administrative units such as mauzas and thanas.

In each subdivision of a district, the Charge Superintendents were directly under the Subdivisional Census Officer, who was either the Subdivisional Officer himself or a gazetted officer of his staff.

In general control of the district was the District Officer; in Manipur, the President of the Darbar under the supervision of the Political Agent.

The Charge Superintendents and a number of the circle supervisors were officials of the Police, Revenue, and other Departments, and did the work as a rule in addition to their ordinary duties; the enumerators were almost all non-officials.

To the numerous gentlemen who have acted as honorary correspondents on social, industrial and religious matters, I tender my thanks. From their reports I have obtained much of the matter incorporated in several chapters of this report, but it is impossible to mention them all separately. Rai Bahadur Aghor Nath Adhikari of Silchar in particular has supplied me with a mass of interesting information and comment. He is a veteran of five censuses, having passed by successive stages from a boy carrying the paint-pot for the enumerator in 1881, to Charge Superintendent in 1911 and 1921.

I am obliged to Babu Sures Chandra Sen, Deputy Superintendent of the Gauhati Central office, for much valuable advice at the beginning of the operations, and later for his careful and unremitting work in preparation of the tables. My Head Clerk at Shillong, Babu Iswar Chandra Purkayastha, B.A., though new to census at first, has proved himself an able assistant; he has saved me much labour by his careful checking and supervision and has prepared the industrial and many of the Subsidiary Tables himself. Most of my staff at the head and central offices have worked hard and spared no pains: to them also I am indebted.

G. T. LLOYD,

SHILLONG, }
December 1922. }

Superintendent of Census Operations, Assam.

REPORT

ON

THE CENSUS OF ASSAM, 1921.

CHAPTER I.

DISTRIBUTION AND MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.

(i) THE AREA DEALT WITH.

1. A summary of the physical and economic conditions and recent political history of the province was given in the last census report,* and more detailed accounts are available in Gait's History of Assam, the Imperial Gazetteer and earlier census reports. It is unnecessary to repeat this information. The area dealt with is a little greater than that of 1911, the additions being two villages transferred from Bengal to Sylhet, and certain areas in the Naga Hills and the North-East frontier districts now brought under administrative control and consequently rendered possible to census. These have added about 24,000 to the population. No attempt was made to extend the operations to more remote tribal areas under only loose political control.

2. Before proceeding to a discussion of the statistics, I have to note certain political and administrative changes which have occurred in the last ten years.

On the break up of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1912, Assam reverted to its former status of a Chief Commissionership, but on January 3rd, 1921, it was constituted a Governor's Province, with an Executive Council and Ministers, the latter being responsible to a Legislative Council with an elected majority. The franchise has been extended and members are nominated also to represent certain politically inarticulate communities such as Labour and inhabitants of backward tracts.

A proposal to abolish the two Commissionerships has been made. During the last ten years, however, they have remained the same, except for the separation from the Assam Valley Division of the two frontier tracts, Sadiya and Balipara. These two districts were newly constituted in 1912 and 1914 from parts of the Lakhimpur and Darrang districts and are now in charge of Political Officers directly under the Local Government.

3. Three natural divisions, the Brahmaputra Valley, the Surma Valley and the Hills, have been taken as in 1911 as the basis of discussion of certain of the census statistics. Most of the subsidiary tables in this report have been arranged accordingly; while in the Imperial and Provincial tables in Part II (the Tables Volume) figures appear by administrative divisions.

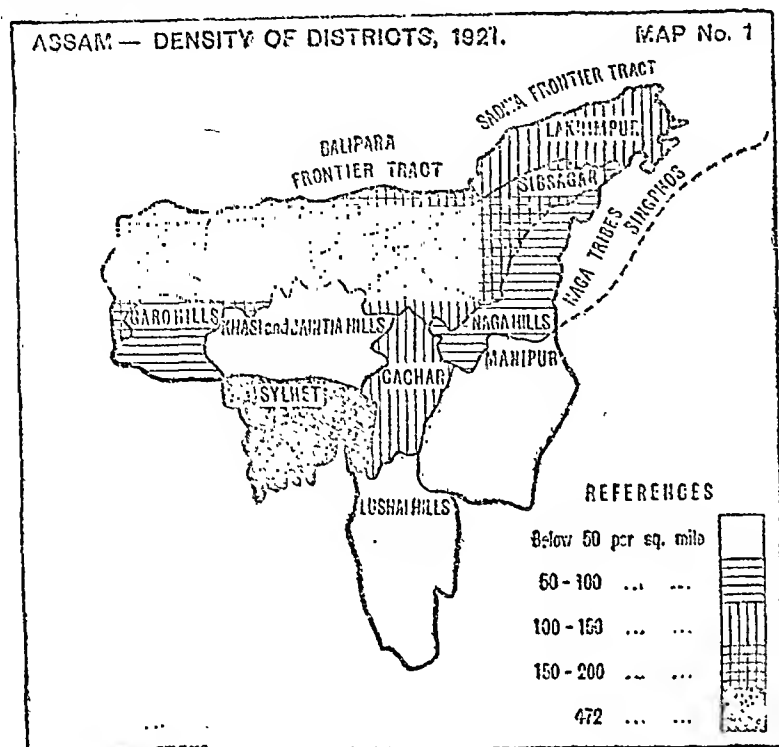
The coloured map at the beginning of this volume shows all the divisions and the main physical features of the province.

(ii) THE POPULATION DEALT WITH.

4. The population enumerated is 7,990,246 or nearly a million more than that of the last census. There were no great disturbing factors of a temporary nature at the time, and the number represents the normal population. In the greater part of the province, censused synchronously, we are dealing with the *de facto* population of the census night, persons living and actually present. In non-synchronous districts, *viz.*:—the Naga, North Cachar, and Manipur Hills, parts of the Garo and Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the frontier tracts, the figures show the *de jure* population, or persons ordinarily resident, with the addition of a few traders and visitors who happened to be making lengthy stays in the country. These were noted by the enumerators at varying times.

* Report on the Census of Assam, 1911, pages 1-4.

It is of interest to note that Assam, the North-East frontier province of the Indian Empire, has exactly the same density as has the North-West Frontier Province. It is still more than double that of Burma, on the east, but less than a quarter that of our western neighbour, Bengal.



There are no industrial centres or towns of any size, but the distribution of the people varies enormously within the province, ranging from 7 per square mile in the Balipara Frontier Tract to over 900 in part of the Surma Valley. These variations are discussed in detail below. Although they are being levelled up slowly, their persistence is not to be wondered at. The static conditions of fertile river valleys and vast areas of forest-covered hills have combined with the dynamic effects of past invasions and wars, destructive earthquakes, and epidemic disease to this end.

The population and density of the Assam Valley Commissionership now for

the first time exceed those of the Surma Valley and Hills Division; but the room for expansion in the former is still immense.

Certain statistics of density and crops are given in subsidiary Table I. The total area under crops is estimated at 7.08 million acres; this gives a density a little greater than 1 person per cultivated acre—or rather more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ bighas of cultivated land per head of the population.

(iv) VARIATIONS AT PREVIOUS CENSUSES.

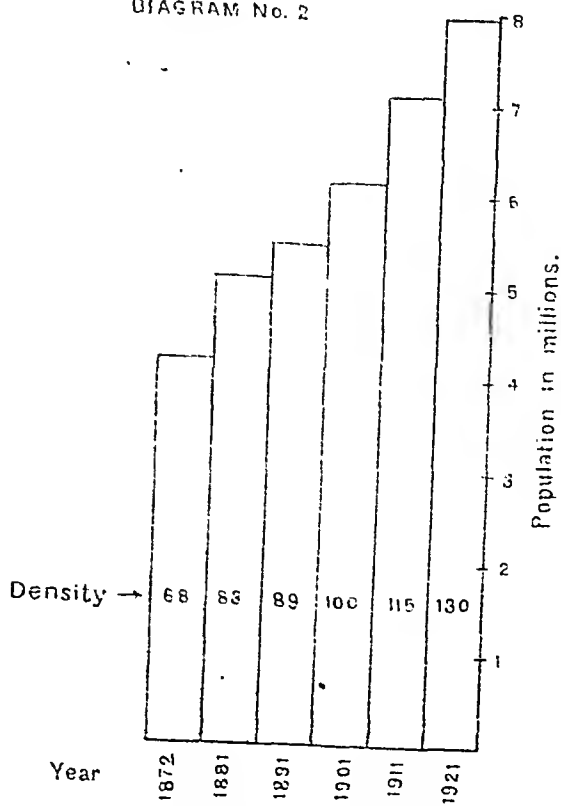
8. Since 1872 there has been a continuous growth. The figures for the six censuses given in Imperial Table II show that the population has almost doubled in fifty years. A reference

Statistics of variation.

to subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter will show this in terms of percentage increases and changes of density decade by decade. The increase is set out in the statement below. In the diagram the height of each rectangle represents the population in millions and the figures within each, density per square mile.

Year.	Population of Assam.	Persons per square mile.
1872 ...	4,151,231	66
1881 ...	5,129,391	83
1891 ...	5,477,880	89
1901 ...	6,126,945	100
1911 ...	7,060,521	115
1921 ...	7,990,246	130

DIAGRAM No. 2



Contingents of fighting men were supplied to Gurkha regiments; artillery drivers and mechanical transport drivers were enlisted from classes with no previous military tradition; some young men of education went as clerks to military units and others enlisted in the Bengali regiment; and several labour corps were raised for service overseas and in India or on the frontier. All these brought back sums of money to their home districts on demobilization.

13. Rainfall was generally heavy, as usual in Assam, where real famine is unknown. Excessive rain produced several high floods, causing local scarcity at times. Crops were on the whole fair in the decade and the price of rice generally ruled high, with consequent benefit to the cultivators. In 1917-18, however, the price fell with the high yield and prohibition of export, causing difficulty to those with surplus stocks for sale.

The average retail price of common rice rose from 13 seers to 7 seers per rupee in the first five years of the decade, fell to 10 by 1917 and rose again to 5½ by 1920. Serious damage was done by floods in the Surma Valley between 1913 and 1916; Goalpara, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills also suffered from floods at different times. In 1911-12 great damage was done to crops in the Lushai Hills and Manipur by a plague of rats which appeared with the seeding of the bamboos in that year. In 1913-14, Sylhet and Cachar crops suffered also from insect pests. The consequent shortage of food-grains and depletion of stocks were countered by measures of relief and agricultural loans from Government. In 1914-15, the fall in the cotton and jute markets affected growers adversely. Water hyacinth has spread greatly in many parts and threatens to be a perennial source of loss to the wet rice crop, as well as an obstruction to boat traffic and a nuisance to the tank water supply.

The Agricultural Department succeeded in introducing potatoes, and several new varieties of rice with higher yields in localities where they were not grown before; but the spread of improved methods and intensive cultivation has been slow and is still very local. Cultivation of indigo has been introduced in parts of the Assam Valley, but little progress has been made as yet in its manufacture.

In 1918 there was a severe earthquake, with its centre near Srimangal in the Sylhet district. Much property was destroyed, but loss of life was small and no permanent change in land level was produced.

14. The tea industry continued to flourish up to 1919, but in 1920 dislocation of trade and especially closure of the Russian market caused a serious depression and accumulation of stocks: many companies which had paid away high profits of previous years in large dividends and had kept no reserves came near to financial crisis, the number of labourers was reduced, considerable areas were allowed to go out of cultivation, and riots and other disturbances occurred among the coolies in several districts. In 1921, however, with an agreement by the Tea Association to restrict output, a rise in the tea market and improvement in general health, the industry began to recover. Even after this temporary depression, we find that the area under tea is nearly 6 per cent. of the cultivated area of the province, having increased in the 10 years by some 60,000 acres. The population censused on tea gardens rose from 702,000 to 922,000. The number of labourers was well over a million in 1919 but fell in 1920-21.

15. According to statistics of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, the whole cultivable area in the province has decreased by about 5 per cent. or over 2,000 square miles, owing to reservation of areas as forest; but the absolute figures are not wholly reliable, as those for the permanently settled districts of Sylhet and Goalpara are based only on estimates. The net area sown, which is still only 25 per cent. of the total cultivable area, shows an increase according to the annual returns of about 50,000 acres. Immigration of cultivators from Eastern Bengal and colonization by Nepalis and ex-garden coolies increased largely and did much to open up waste land in the Assam Valley, but as subsidiary Table I shows, large areas remain uncultivated. Attempts are being made to extend fruit cultivation in the hills and certain parts of the plains; the Garos are beginning to grow oranges, and in Sylhet proposals for pine apple tinning factories have been made.

16. In development of large industries, apart from tea, there is little of achievement, but considerable promise, to be noted. The Assam Oil Company extended their workings in Lakhimpur and increased their output from 3.3 to 5.2 million gallons in the decade. The petroleum previously discovered near Badarpur in the Surma Valley is now being exported

Chapamukh to Silghat steamer station; one is also under construction to Hailakandi in Cachar. A survey was made in 1920-21 for a connecting line between Assam and Burma in the north-eastern corner through the Hukong Valley; the survey parties were actually censused in the transfrontier country.

With the help of large Government grants in the first half of the decade considerable improvements in rural water supply and in roads and bridges were made by local bodies: in the second half many projects suffered for want of funds.

(ri) THE MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION.

20. The result of the conditions described above has been a growth in the total population large but less marked than that of the previous decade when there was no influenza epidemic.

Variation—General.			Increase 1911-1921.	Percentage of 1911 population.
Assam	...	...	929,725	+13.2
Brahmaputra Valley	...	...	749,050	+24.1
Surma Valley (with North Cachar).	...	...	98,323	+3.3
Hills	...	...	82,752	+8.2

The actual amounts and percentage increases for the province and natural divisions are given in the marginal statement. The details of variation for districts by sex are shown in Imperial Table II, and as explained in the title page of that table, only about 24,000 of the total increase is due to inclusion of new areas. There is little difference in

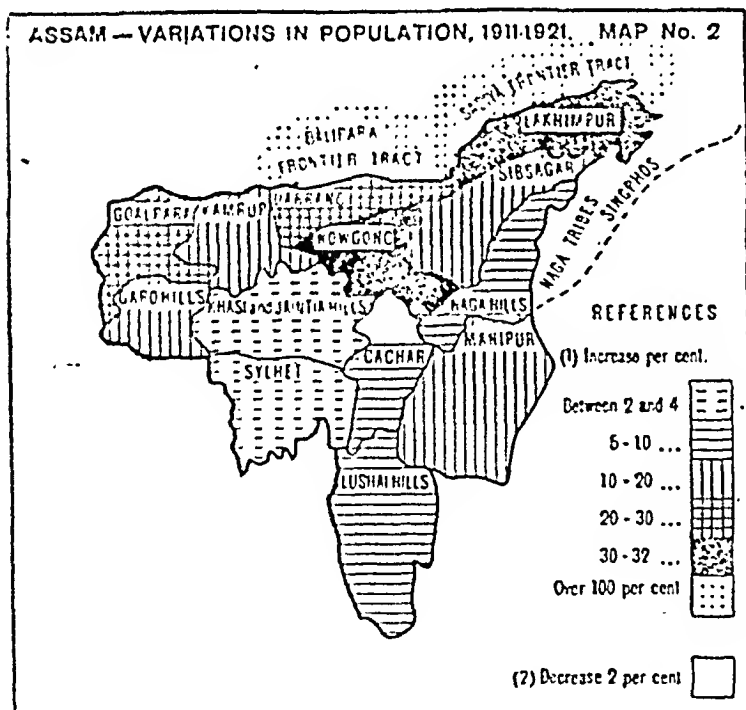
accuracy at the present census; we have therefore to look to natural growth and immigration as the two main causes of the provincial increase.

The density is much higher in the Surma Valley, and especially in Sylhet, which accounts for five-sixths of the population of the valley; and local calamities, with consequent lowered vitality of the people, have fallen more heavily and frequently on Sylhet than elsewhere. We should therefore expect less natural growth in the Surma Valley than in the Brahmaputra Valley.

Again, the latter division has about double the Surma Valley number of tea gardens, suffered less severely from the tea slump of 1920 and has far more waste

land awaiting colonists.

The tendency of both causes is thus largely in favour of the Brahmaputra Valley. The Hills are little affected by migration. They are sparsely populated, but in parts suffered very severely from the influenza epidemic, both in direct mortality and in the after-effect on the birth rate. Their intermediate position between the two valleys in the rate of increase was to be expected.



21. Details of immigrants, emigrants and natural population are given in subsidiary Table IV, which shows a very large increase of immigrants in the Brahmaputra Valley, a small increase in the hills and some excess of emigrants over immigrants in the Surma Valley. The natural population is obtained by adding the number of emigrants to the total population enumerated and then deducting the number of immigrants.

23. In subsidiary Table V registered vital statistics have been set out side by side with the population increases disclosed by the census. But for the disturbing effect of migration, the excess of births over deaths in the decade should be equal to the actual census increase; hence we might suppose that the figures for natural population, which are deduced by excluding immigrants and including emigrants, would correspond, up to limits of error of the recording agencies, with the vital statistics.

It is not so. Columns 6 and 7 of subsidiary Table V show a discrepancy which appears grotesque. The difference for the area of the province under registration amounts to over 350,000. In Darrang and Lakhimpur, the recorded death rates considerably exceed the birth rates; yet the census discloses substantial additions in both districts to the natural as well as to the actual population! It is obvious that the figures are useless for purposes of comparison or checking with the census figures. The registration of vital statistics, though still greatly defective, must be presumed to have improved somewhat in ten years and reasons for the great difference must be sought elsewhere. These reasons lie in the fact that census immigrants and emigrants are only counted every ten years. There are many immigrants who come during the decade and die before the date of the census; these swell the death returns, but do not appear in the census. Again, those who emigrate during the decade and who die outside the province before the census date will cause a deficit in the census natural population but have no corresponding entry in the death registers of the province. The number of these is, however, very much less than that of the former class. I have analysed these factors with the help of the annual Tea Garden Immigrant Labour Reports in Appendix A at the end of this volume. When they are allowed for, the discrepancy becomes less absurd, though still large enough to discount any serious deductions, except the one that the registration of vital statistics is still very imperfect.

The system of registration and its accuracy also vary in different parts of the province, and it is therefore of doubtful utility to quote the figures except for comparison of the same areas at different times. In areas tested by the Public Health Department, omissions vary generally from 2 to 10 per cent. Births are probably more often omitted than deaths.

The Director of Public Health is of opinion that the influenza epidemic had a very disturbing effect on registration, owing to the general insecurity caused by the ravages of the disease, and also in many cases to illness and death of the reporting and recording agents.

(c) DENSITY AND VARIATION IN NATURAL DIVISIONS.

24. I come now to the consideration of variation and density of the population

Province—General distribution.

in the districts and their subdivisions.

In the report of 1911, Mr. McSwiney commented on some remarkable contrasts, in that one-third of the total population was spread over an area of three-fourths of the province with a density less than 150 per square mile, and only 1·3 per cent. of the total area supported some 7·4 per cent. of the people at a density of over 600 to the square mile. Subsidiary Table II shows the population by thanas and areas in the same density groups as were shown in 1911. From the table it appears that the proportion of the population in the areas of lowest density has decreased from 33·4 to 30 per cent., some 4 per cent. of the 1911 lowest-density areas having moved now into the next higher class, owing to colonization.

In areas of over 600 per square mile we have now 16·6 per cent of all the people. This last result, however, is due more to minute calculation of densities, owing to partition of thickly populated thanas in the Surma Valley, than to actual growth. Another contrast shown by the table is that a little over half the people are still spread over about eight-ninths of the area of the province, while the other half is crowded into one-ninth of the area.

the Eastern Bengal Railway through the north of the district a dozen years ago is a contributory cause in this. The Chirang mauza of the Eastern Dnars has thus increased its population twelvefold in the decade. The Santal Colony of the Lutheran Mission and the Ripu mauza have increases of 75 and 82 per cent. respectively. Except for the influenza epidemic, the district has not suffered greatly from disease or calamity. The Deputy Commissioner states that the decade has been fairly prosperous. The increase in the natural population is 13 per cent.

As shown by map No. 4 above the density is highest (Mankachar thana, 567) in the south-west, and in the Dhubri and Gelakganj thanas (390 and 392) adjoining Bengal. The Gelakganj thana has lost 2.9 per cent. of its people and other thanas have gained heavily. The thickly populated Mankachar outpost is shown as a separate police station for the first time. Goalpara subdivision has gained more in proportion than the Dhubri (sadr) subdivision, and the two are now almost equal in density. The greatest increase in the former is shown by Lakhipur thana, 87.7 per cent. There is still much waste land to be reclaimed and the next census should show a further large increase in the district, chiefly in the tracts away from the Brahmaputra.

27. Although Kamrup district had generally favourable climatic conditions, it had more than its fair share of disease: small-pox virulent in the early years of the decade, cholera in 1917, *kala-azar* stimulated by influenza, as well as a comparatively high death rate from the influenza epidemic itself in 1918-19. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natural growth has been less than that in Goalpara; the percentage increase of natural population is only 5.7. The total increase was 94,885 or 14.2 per cent. This is somewhat greater than the increase shown in the last census; it is in accordance with Mr. McSwiney's prophesy in the 1911 report. Of the total increase, just as in Goalpara, two-fifths is due to natural growth and three-fifths to immigration. The density is still greatest in the centre and towards the south-east of the district: Nalbari thana has 551 persons to the square mile, Ilajo 359 and Palasbari 357. Some of the mauzas of Nalbari are very thickly populated, Upar Barbhag having 962, and Bausjani and Pakowa 812 and 818 respectively.

If we reckon 5 acres as supporting not more than seven persons on the average under present conditions of cultivation, it is evident that there is considerable pressure on the soil in parts. There is still much room for expansion in the district, however, and further increase of population may be expected. Of the two subdivisions, Barpeta, with its large areas of waste and swamp, has only 146 persons to the square mile against the 223 of Ganhati subdivision. Cultivators from Bengal are, however, flowing more rapidly into Barpeta than into Gauhati subdivision; the density increase in the former is 32 and in the latter 18. Large increases are shown by Chenga, Bagribari and Bhowanipur mauzas in Barpeta.

The extension of the Eastern Bengal Railway in the north and west of the district has doubtless helped in the increase of both subdivisions. Tea gardens are not important and the immigrants are chiefly Muhammadans from Mymensingh and other Bengal districts. These settled at first on the banks of the Brahmaputra but have now spread inland and opened up land which had been out of cultivation since the subsidence due to the earthquake of 1897.

28. In Darrang there was some cholera in 1912, 1916 and 1919, and influenza took its toll in 1918 and 1919 but generally the climate was cool and humid and conducive to health. The recorded birth rates in the influenza years 1918-19 were higher than the provincial averages but the district death rates were the highest in the province for both years. These high death rates are most probably attributable to extra heavy mortality among new immigrants. *Kala-azar* is said to have decreased, and the material condition of the people is described as satisfactory on the whole. The natural increase was 10.1 per cent., an improvement on the figures of last census. The density is no longer highest in the west, except for the single thana of Mangaldai at the south-west corner of the district. Mangaldai subdivision, which had shown a decrease at the last two censuses, has now increased in density from 124 to 140, but Tezpur subdivision has a much larger increase from 101 to 157. Part of these increases is due, however, to the transfer of 500 square miles, almost uninhabited, to Balipara Frontier Tract. The possibility of this large increase in the eastern part of the district was foreseen in the last census report when it was remarked that a stream of settlers might be directed there by the gradual filling up of large areas of waste land. Calculated on the surveyed area, the mean density of the district is now 164, slightly exceeding that of Sibsagar.

the Eastern Bengal Railway through the north of the district a dozen years ago is a contributory cause in this. The Chirang mauza of the Eastern Duars has thus increased its population twelvefold in the decade. The Santal Colony of the Lutheran Mission and the Ripu manza have increases of 75 and 82 per cent. respectively. Except for the influenza epidemic, the district has not suffered greatly from disease or calamity. The Deputy Commissioner states that the decade has been fairly prosperous. The increase in the natural population is 13 per cent.

As shown by map No. 4 above the density is highest (Mankachar thana, 567) in the south-west, and in the Dhubri and Golakganj thanas (390 and 392) adjoining Bengal. The Golakganj thana has lost 2.9 per cent. of its people and other thanas have gained heavily. The thickly populated Mankachar outpost is shown as a separate police station for the first time. Goalpara subdivision has gained more in proportion than the Dhubri (sadr) subdivision, and the two are now almost equal in density. The greatest increase in the former is shown by Lakhimpur thana, 87.7 per cent. There is still much waste land to be reclaimed and the next census should show a further large increase in the district, chiefly in the tracts away from the Brahmaputra.

27. Although Kamrup district had generally favourable climatic conditions, it had more than its fair share of disease: small-pox virulent in the early years of the decade, cholera in 1917, *kala-azar* stimulated by influenza, as well as a comparatively high death rate from the influenza epidemic itself in 1918-19. It is not surprising, therefore, that the natural growth has been less than that in Goalpara; the percentage increase of natural population is only 5.7. The total increase was 94,885 or 14.2 per cent. This is somewhat greater than the increase shown in the last census; it is in accordance with Mr. McSwiney's prophecy in the 1911 report. Of the total increase, just as in Goalpara, two-fifths is due to natural growth and three-fifths to immigration. The density is still greatest in the centre and towards the south-east of the district: Nalbari thana has 551 persons to the square mile, Ilajo 359 and Palasbari 357. Some of the mauzas of Nalbari are very thickly populated, Upar Barbhag having 962, and Bansjani and Pakowa 842 and 818 respectively.

If we reckon 5 acres as supporting not more than seven persons on the average under present conditions of cultivation, it is evident that there is considerable pressure on the soil in parts. There is still much room for expansion in the district, however, and further increase of population may be expected. Of the two subdivisions, Barpeta, with its large areas of waste and swamp, has only 146 persons to the square mile against the 223 of Gauhati subdivision. Cultivators from Bengal are, however, flowing more rapidly into Barpeta than into Gauhati subdivision; the density increase in the former is 32 and in the latter 18. Large increases are shown by Chenga, Bagribari and Bhowanipur mauzas in Barpeta.

The extension of the Eastern Bengal Railway in the north and west of the district has doubtless helped in the increase of both subdivisions. Tea gardens are not important and the immigrants are chiefly Muhammadans from Mymensingh and other Bengal districts. These settled at first on the banks of the Brahmaputra but have now spread inland and opened up land which had been out of cultivation since the subsidence due to the earthquake of 1897.

28. In Darrang there was some cholera in 1912, 1916 and 1919, and influenza took its toll in 1918 and 1919 but generally the climate was cool and humid and conducive to health. The recorded birth rates in the influenza years 1918-19 were higher than the provincial averages but the district death-rates were the highest in the province for both years. These high death rates are most probably attributable to extra heavy mortality among new immigrants. *Kala-azar* is said to have decreased, and the material condition of the people is described as satisfactory on the whole. The natural increase was 10.1 per cent., an improvement on the figures of last census. The density is no longer highest in the west, except for the single thana of Mangaldai at the south-west corner of the district. Mangaldai subdivision, which had shown a decrease at the last two censuses, has now increased in density from 124 to 140, but Tezpur subdivision has a much larger increase from 101 to 157. Part of these increases is due, however, to the transfer of 500 square miles, almost uninhabited, to Balipara Frontier Tract. The possibility of this large increase in the eastern part of the district was foreseen in the last census report when it was remarked that a stream of settlers might be directed there by the gradual filling up of large areas of waste land. Calculated on the surveyed area, the mean density of the district is now 164, slightly exceeding that of Sibsagar.

There was an outbreak of cholera in 1914, and some floods occurred in 1912 and 1916. Otherwise, except for influenza, the decade has been one of some prosperity. The high prices prevailing after the war, however, gave rise to extensive shop-looting and to rioting on tea gardens, with demands by the coolies for higher wages. Cultivators were not affected, as they gained by the high price of rice.

The total increase of population in the ten years is 131,795. Somewhat less than one-third of this is due to immigration. The stream of Eastern Bengal settlers stops short before Sibsagar and the immigrants here are almost all tea garden coolies. The district has the largest population in the valley; but it also covers the largest area, and the mean density is only 162. Of the three subdivisions, Jorhat has the greatest density, 285, followed by Sibsagar with 281. Golaghat, with a large area of the Mikir Hills and the Nambor forest, supports only 75 persons to the square mile.

A belt running in the centre and north-east is the most thickly populated part of the district. Sibsagar subdivision has the largest increase, but the other two subdivisions have also increased heavily. Jorhat thana is easily the densest thana, having risen in density from 319 to 431. Amguri, Titabor, and Nazira thanas all have over 351 persons to the square mile. The Majuli and the hill portions of Golaghat thana are still sparsely peopled. Manzas Khangia, Kotolagar Charigaon Nazira and Godhuli Barar support the densest population, all having 750 persons or more to the square mile. The manzas having the largest increases in population are Nakaahari, Thaura, Khakighogara, Kardaiguri and Duar Dikharn.

In Jorhat subdivision there is little room left for expansion; but there is still ample land in the north and east of Sibsagar, and round the hills of Golaghat. There has been a good deal of clearance of waste land, owing to pressure in the crowded parts and to settlement of ex-coolies. If tea continues to flourish and if, as seems probable, the stream of cultivating immigrants from Eastern Bengal continues its eastward trend, the population of Sibsagar may approach a million by the next census.

31. The population of Lakhimpur is now more than five times what it was in 1872. In the last ten years the actual population has grown by 30.5 per cent, and the natural by 29.3 per cent. This, like Sibsagar, shows a contrast with last census. Immigrants have now been absorbed, in place of the excess of emigrants shown in 1911.

Lakhimpur,

The natural growth does not represent all Assamese people; in highly developed and old tea districts such as Lakhimpur and Sibsagar it includes the descendants of many settled ex-coolies, as well as children born in gardens. These, if born in the district, the census does not distinguish from the indigenous population. Language might be used as a test, but even so, a good many of the children of Behar, Central Provinces, or Madras settlers may be returned as speaking Assamese. This matter will be discussed in Chapter IX.

The density of Dibrugarh subdivision is 180, and that of North Lakhimpur only 105. The former contains the great majority of the tea gardens of the district, and most of the coal mines and oil wells working in the province. North Lakhimpur is more low-lying and less suitable for tea.

Dibrugarh thana has a density of 351. A few manzas rise to over 400, and Jamira has 617 persons per square mile, but generally the population is not crowded. On the east lies the Lakhimpur Frontier Tract, under direct control of the Deputy Commissioner. This was extended in 1914 by 83 square miles, containing 13 Naga villages. There has been another extension of 206 square miles, with some Alos villages, in the north. These changes have added about 1,700 to the population. On the other hand, the district has lost territory and population by the separation of Sadiya Frontier Tract in 1914; previous figures have been adjusted for this in the principal tables, but the migration figures for 1911 could not be adjusted in subsidiary Table IV as immigrants and emigrants are not tabulated for units smaller than districts. The Sadiya migrations, however, are not large enough to interfere with general conclusions about Lakhimpur.

The actual increase in the district has been 136,891, of which 1,700 is due to new areas, and a little less than half to natural growth. The rest is accounted for by increased immigration, chiefly to the tea gardens. Manzas Jaipur Phakial, Tipling Phakial, Sissi and Naobachia have very large increases. Dibrugarh mauza has decreased by 6,500, or 32.6 per cent. of its 1911 population; a few other mauzas also show small decreases.

These areas, with a newly-started saw-mill, account for 17,619 people. Immigration in the shape of the political coolie corps and a number of Nepali and other settlers gives another 4,000. The actual increase in the ten years is 22,535; but only 885, about one-twenty-fifth of this, can be ascribed to natural growth. Of the rest, less than one-fifth is due to immigration, and nearly four-fifths to census of new areas.

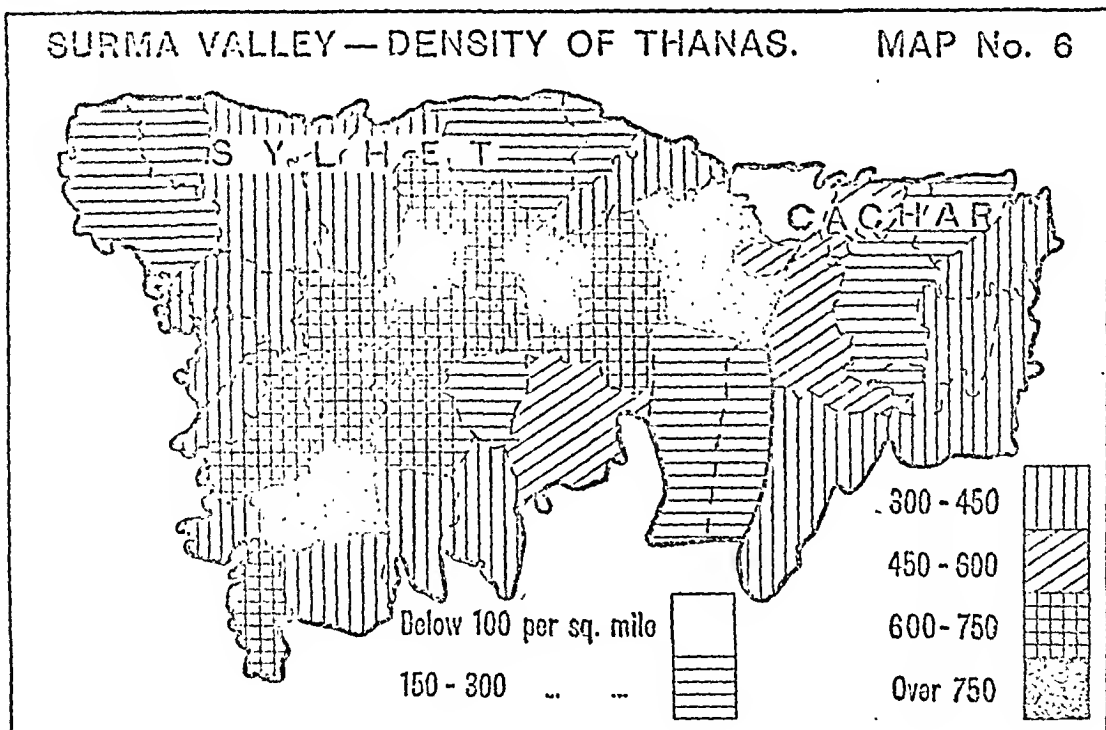
Public health was good, except for influenza. There is plenty of land for settlers but it is all covered in virgin forest or rough jungle. There is no defined outer boundary to the district. Consequently, the Director of Surveys has not been able to supply the true area of the district, but only that of the part transferred from Lakhimpur, 339 square miles. The Political Officer estimates his area at 3,000 square miles for Sadiya subdivision and 1,200 for Pasighat. According to this the density of Pasighat is a little greater than that of Sadiya, the average for the district being only 9 per square mile. The only mauza, Sadiya, has a density of 33. Considerable expansion of the population, both by growth and by new immigrant graziers and cultivators, may be expected before the next census.

33. This district was constituted in 1914, 22 square miles being transferred from Lakhimpur and 500 from Darrang. The jurisdiction of the Political Officer extends over the plains and certain parts of the hills to the north inhabited by Bhutias, Akas, Daslas, Apa Tanangs and Miris, but the census was taken only in the plains part, 13 villages. The calculated population of 1911 was 863 and this has increased to 3,819, chiefly by the establishment of a tea garden and of some new Dasla villages. The area is practically all forest, but more expansion may be looked for by new settlement of hillmen and possible extension of tea. The density, calculated on the transferred area only, is the lowest in the province, 7 per square mile.

As in the case of Sadiya, there is no fixed outer or northern boundary, except for a small portion where there is direct contact with Bhutan and with the Tibetan province of Towang.

34. The creation of some new thanas and subdivision of old ones enables us to follow density in the Surma Valley more minutely than in 1911. For instance, Karinganjan thana in 1911 included Badarpur, Patharkandi and Ratabari outposts, with an average density of 431. This is now resolved into four police stations for which areas and population have been tabulated separately, showing densities of 911, 460, 206 and 235. From map No. 6 it will be seen that population is crowded most in a belt running east and west in the middle of the valley and then bending to the south-west corner.

Surma Valley—General.



Practically this is the line of the Surma river and its confluent the Barak or Kusiara. The reasons for this density are that these rivers are the oldest main lines of communication with Bengal on the west, and that the country is somewhat higher near the river banks, producing more regular crops than the distant parts. In

36. As noted above, the density in Sylhet follows the course of the central rivers. It is greatest in thanas Karimganj (941), Golabganj (751), Biswanath (863) and Habiganj (786), the mean for the district being 472 against 459 to the square mile in 1911. The normal cultivated area is estimated by the Director of Land Records and Agriculture at some 2·4 million acres, or an average of nearly one acre per person. This should be more than enough for support of the population, but much of the district is low-lying and floods take heavy and frequent toll of the crops. The density is lowest in the south of Karimganj subdivision, where there are large areas of hill and forest; in the Jaintia parganas of North Sylhet; and in the Dharampassa and Tahirpur thanas, north-west of Sunamganj. In the last two regions the land is very low, developing into inland seas in the rains.

The Deputy Commissioner writes :—

“ In consequence of damage caused by flood, earthquake and cyclone and prevalence of epidemics, e.g., small-pox, cholera, influenza and *kala-azar*, the condition of the people was far from prosperous during the decade. The excessively high prices of all commodities of daily use have greatly worked upon the condition of the people. Successive failures of crops due to flood have driven the peasants to borrowing. About 89 per cent. of the whole population are in debt and about 90 per cent. are badly clothed.....The introduction and sale of standard *dhoties*, *saries* and shirtings at prices fixed by Government was greatly appreciated by the people and relieved the situation to a considerable extent.”

Notwithstanding these checks, the population has increased by 68,006 or 2·7 per cent. of the 1911 total; this is exactly the same percentage increase as that of Bengal. Of the total, natural growth accounts for nearly seven-eighths, being at the rate of 2·5 per cent. Low as it is, this is more than double the rate of increase of the all-India population. The gain by excess of immigration is only 9,191; the tea garden population had been increasing fairly steadily up to 1920, when the slump came, otherwise there had been a large deficit on migration. The increase is distributed irregularly among the thanas, as will be seen from a glance at map No. 7. It is fairly uniform in Sunamganj subdivision, while in the other subdivisions, both increases and decreases occur. In North Sylhet with a general increase of 15,000, or 2·9 per cent., the Jaintia parganas show a decrease. It is not difficult to understand the decrease, mainly in the Gowainghat and Jaintiapur *thanas*: this area has suffered from a succession of floods extraordinary even for Sylhet, in the last few years of the decade; in the opinion of the Sub-Deputy Collector of the Gowainghat tahsil, worse than has been known before. The vitality of the people must have been lowered and mortality at the extremes of life raised. It is probable also that the number of marriages fell off in this flood area especially.

In Karimganj subdivision, Badarpur and Karimganj police stations show decreases, but I do not think these are real. In 1911 these two with Patharkandi and Ratabari were combined in a much greater Karimganj thana, and if the four be considered together, it is found that there has been an increase of 3 per cent. The adjustments of 1911 figures were made on data supplied by the local authorities and the difference is probably due to an error in these data. The increase in Karimganj subdivision as a whole is 16,106, or 3·5 per cent. For similar reasons the apparent large increase (56·6 per cent.) in the Srimaugal thana, and decrease (22·6) in Rajnagar, with the small decrease of 0·4 in Maulvi Bazar thana, are open to doubt. Maulvi Bazar thana has been divided into four parts since 1911; taken as a whole these have an increase of 3·4 per cent., so that an error in the 1911 data is probable. The increase for South Sylhet subdivision is 10,020, or 2·5 per cent.

Habiganj thana has decreased by 6·1 per cent., and smaller losses are shown by Muchikandi, Madhabpur and Lakhai. These cannot be explained by any error in calculation, as although there are slight increases in Baniachong, Ajmiriganj and Nabiganj thanas, the whole Habiganj subdivision shows a decrease of 4,781 or 0·8 per cent. The local Officers and non-officials explain this as being due to bad epidemics of disease, chiefly influenza, small-pox and *kala-azar*. It is, however, doubtful if Habiganj suffered more than other parts.

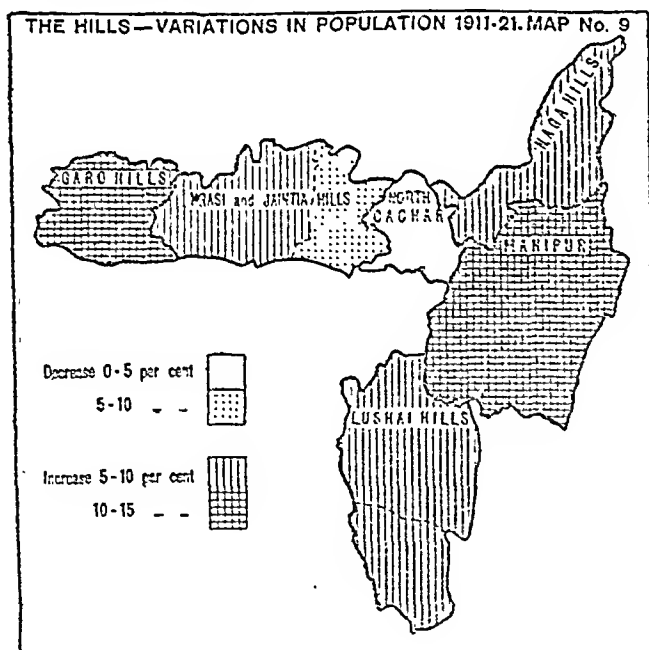
I think that emigration is a probable factor. Bengal statistics show that the number of Sylhet people censused in Tripura State is now nearly 34,000—an increase of 8,400 over the 1911 number. We have no record of migration by subdivisions, but as the deficit thanas are close to the Tripura border and there is communication by rail and otherwise, it is fair to conjecture that a considerable number of the emigrants have gone over from Habiganj. All the decrease is among Hindus; the Muhammadans of the subdivision have increased by over 2,000. Probably some of the emigrants are tea garden coolies. Some 4,500 Hindu Tiparas have also left Sylhet owing to the prohibition of *jhuming* in the southern hills.

population to the Syntengs having been more seriously affected by influenza and other epidemics. A good many Khasis went to the war as labourers, motor drivers and clerks, and the resultant flow of ready money was helpful. The density is low in both subdivisions and there is no pressure on the soil.

There has been damage to crops by excessive rainfall and wind at times, but the public health has not been affected thereby. Wages and prices of agricultural produce have risen with consequent benefit to the people, and on the whole the period appears to have been one of some prosperity. The rebound after the fall in the birth rate following the influenza years should result in a steady increase in future.

40. The Naga Hills increase is 9,910, Kohima subdivision gaining 2,894 and Mokokechung 7,016. About 7,800 trans-Dikhu Konyaks and others were included for the first time and censused in Mokokechung subdivision. Reference to subsidiary Table IV shows a gain of some 9,000 on the balance of migration, so that the old population has really decreased by 7,500 or nearly 5 per cent.

Here again, the influenza epidemic fell very severely on certain parts of the country; for instance, it attacked Kohima just when 2,000 coolies were concentrated there for service in the Kuki expedition. Kohima village itself scattered into the jungle for a month, leaving corpses unburied in the houses or rotting in the fields, and many other villages were no less badly affected. Probably a certain number of people have gone across into unadministered territory, and are thus unaccounted for in the census, but it is clear that the health of the district has been more severely affected than that of other hill areas, excepting Jowai: Of the 7,000 immigrants censused, some are Nepalese settlers and some are Kukis and Kacharis from the North Cachar Hills.



The mean density of the district is only 52. It varies primarily as between the country of the Angamis, who practise terrace cultivation, and that of the other tribes, who live by *jhuming*. The Angamis can cultivate the same land every year, and in consequence their villages are much larger and closer together; others can *jhum* the same land only for two or three years and must then migrate or find other means of subsistence. The Deputy Commissioner reports that there is even now considerable pressure on the soil in the Sema country, where scarcity is becoming more acutely felt every year. The Semas are already the most dense on the ground, and their land has been *jhumed*

very severely.

41. The Lushai Hills have gained 7,202, or 7.9 per cent. in the decade. The natural increase is only 2.7 per cent. this low figure being due probably to influenza having attacked the district twice: once in the general epidemic of 1918-19, and again at the end of 1920 and beginning of 1921 in the eastern part of the district. In the latter attack about 15 per cent. of the people living in the affected area were carried off. In 1911-12 the bamboos in the hills seeded and in consequence rats appeared and devoured almost the whole of the rice crop. The scarcity was relieved by Government relief and loans; it is stated that the people still have much loan money to pay off and therefore have not made much progress towards prosperity.

A whole village and many families from other villages of Aijal subdivision have emigrated to Tripura, apparently to avoid impressed labour. Some people of Lungleh subdivision have gone over to the Chittagong Hill Tracts and to Tripura for the same reason. At the same time, about 4,000 people have come over from the Chin Hills and settled in the Lushai Hills to avoid oppression from their chief.

due also to continued local scarcity caused by floods. In the absence of another widespread epidemic, the population of Sylhet should grow considerably after the first two or three years of the next decade, though not so quickly as that of other districts. With recurrent floods and insect pests destroying crops and with the highest density in the province, the prosperity of the Sylhet people is likely to vary inversely with their increase, unless they adopt more intensive methods of cultivation or for the slack months some subsidiary occupation more remunerative than attending conversational gatherings. If the *charka* be found wanting—and not a few have been thrown into corners to remain covered with dust—the hope may be hazarded that a solution will be found in a wider use of the handloom.

No direct influence of religion or race on population variations can be traced. Muhammadans predominate in Sylhet, and for reasons given by Mr. McSwiney in 1911 we should expect a higher rate of increase among them: yet Sylhet has less proportionate natural increase than its neighbour Cachar, where Hindus are in the majority. Goalpara, with a majority of Bengalis, has a rate of increase between those of Kamrup and Sibsagar, both Assamese districts.

Enquiries have been made as to the prevalence of infanticide, abortion and birth control. Infanticide is hardly known, except for two or three instances which have been brought to the notice of the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills. In these cases and in the more frequent cases of abortion which are believed to occur, the object is always to get rid of the offspring of unauthorised intrigues, usually between persons of the same exogamous group and therefore regarded as incestuous. In several other districts abortion is believed to be practised to some extent, but specific instances are not known. Western methods of birth control are now known to a good many of the educated class and are used to some extent by non-orthodox Hindus. There are said to be some village women cunning in the knowledge and administration of special salts, unripe fruit juices and caustic root-saps which cause miscarriage or abortion.

In time some of the above practices may perhaps affect the increase of the middle classes, but the general population is unaffected.

44. In the census reports of 1901 and 1911 calculations were made in the Chapters on movement of population as to the variation of the Assamese people, by tabulating certain prominent castes for the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. I have thought it better to deal with this in Chapter XI (Caste, tribe, etc.). It is enough to note here that the number of people who can be distinctively called Assamese has increased.

45. The actual numbers of houses in districts and lesser divisions are given in Imperial Table I and Provincial Table I. The definition of a house was practically the same as that of the three previous censuses, i.e., it was generally the buildings, one or many, inhabited by one commensal family. It was not the homestead or enclosure. There were a few exceptions such as bungalows and public buildings (jails, police lines, etc.), where each ward, barrack or building was taken as a house; and coolie lines, in which each doorway was counted as a house. The definition is well suited to the province and was understood everywhere. Only one or two small difficulties arose; e.g., in Darrang cases of agricultural servants living in a separate house but receiving uncoked food from the common store, and in Lakhimpur, Alor and Miri houses often containing two or three families but having only one doorway. Before 1891 the definition was different; hence in subsidiary Table IV, figures for only the last four censuses have been given. This table shows that the number of persons per house (taken to the nearest whole number) is the same as in 1911, for almost every district. In Goalpara and the Surma Valley, however, there is an increase of one person per house.

In the former the difference is only slight, if the calculation be taken to fractions; it is probably due to numbers of the new immigrants not yet having divided up into separate *khunas* or built permanent houses. In the Surma Valley, the difference is due to a remarkable decrease of 34,000 houses in Sylhet, where from the total gain in population we should have expected about 13,000 more houses. In the province as a whole and in all districts except Sylhet there has been an increase in houses proportional more or less to the actual increase in population. The second part of subsidiary Table VII shows that in Sylhet there are now only 95 houses to the square mile against the 102 of the last census. The decrease appears in four of the five subdivisions of the district and does not appear to be due to any different interpretation of the definition of a house from that taken elsewhere. Probably it reflects to

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Density, water-supply and crops.

District and natural division.	Mean density per square mile in 1921.	Percentage of total area of		Percentage of cultivated area of		Percentage of gross cultivated area which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall.	Percentage of gross cultivated area which is under					
		Cultivable.	Not cultivated.	Not cultivated.	Double cropped.			Rice.	Other food grains (except rice).	Oil-seeds.	Jute.	Tea.	All other crops.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ASSAM	130	71	18	23	3	3.3	118	75.7	2.1	5.2	1.3	5.0	9.8
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	136	70	16	23	3	5.8	83	67.4	3.1	8.5	2.2	7.9	10.9
Goalpara	163	61	17	27	5	...	109	73.6	0.7	11.1	6.5	0.1	6.0
Karbiang	107	51	24	46	5	11.1	78	75.2	4.0	0.8	1.2	0.4	9.4
Darrang	164	65	16	23	2	22.1	84	66.4	3.7	5.7	1.9	12.3	10.0
Nongpoh	108	65	12	14	2	...	67	67.1	7.5	16.2	1.7	3.9	13.8
Silchar	162	71	19	26	1	0.4	87	64.7	1.7	4.8	0.1	13.5	15.2
Jalbhari	143	53	12	14	1	...	114	57.0	2.3	4.5	0.1	23.0	11.6
Sadiya	9	...	...	4	1	45.2	107	65.7	6.7	6.4	0.5	1.7	17.0
Balipara	7	...	...	...	...	...	93	...	...	...	...	...	...
FORMA VALLEY	420	66	47	70	0	...	134	81.4	0.2	2.5	0.5	4.7	7.7
Cachar Plains	253	41	15	22	4	...	125	67.4	0.9	2.9	0.1	16.7	12.0
Syhet	472	54	20	53	10	...	143	80.6	0.1	2.4	0.6	3.1	7.2
HILLS	37	76	3	5	0.1	11.3	128	66.4	11.2	2.1	1.2	...	19.1
Garo Hills	27	1.9	5	5	1.0	19.5	107	60.0	2.1	5.5	4.1	...	27.1
Khasi and Jaintia Hills*	40	69	4	7	0.1	37.1	250	53.5	5.7	1.7	...	...	30.1
North Cachar Hills*	16	...	...	...	...	...	134	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naga Hills	22	69	5	6	...	...	86	70.0	17.6	...	...	...	12.4
Jaintia Hills	14	72	2	3	0.0	0.1	107	75.0	17.1	0.7	...	...	6.6
Majumbar	45	...	...	...	...	...	61	...	...	...	...	...	...

N.B.—In the calculation for the province as a whole and for natural divisions those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account. The agricultural percentages have been worked out on the basis of normal areas recorded in the Season and Crops report of 1920-21.

* The agricultural statistics of Cachar include those of North Cachar and those of Khasi and Jaintia Hills are for British villages only.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Variation in relation to density since 1872.

District and Natural Division.	Percentage of variation Increase (+) Decrease (-).					Net variation 1872-1921.	Mean density per square mile.					
	1871 to 1871.	1881 to 1891.	1891 to 1901.	1901 to 1911.	1911 to 1921.		1871.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.	1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
ASSAM	+ 13.2	+ 13.2	+ 11.8	+ 6.8	+ 23.0	+ 82.5	150	115	100	89	83	68
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	+ 24.1	+ 18.7	+ 5.8	+ 10.0	+ 10.5	+ 21.1	156	126	106	101	92	77
Goalpara	+ 25.0	+ 20.0	+ 5.0	+ 1.4	+ 15.5	+ 9.5	103	122	117	115	113	98
Darrang	+ 14.2	+ 15.5	+ 7.1	+ 1.7	+ 14.5	+ 25.8	107	123	123	104	107	116
Dimaas	+ 27.0	+ 11.0	+ 9.2	+ 12.7	+ 12.5	+ 103.2	164	110	89	89	80	63
Nagaas	+ 31.0	+ 27.5	+ 24.5	+ 19.3	+ 21.0	+ 35.3	108	72	68	90	82	68
Sivasagar	+ 12.1	+ 18.0	+ 24.4	+ 22.4	+ 23.5	+ 15.5	162	128	120	95	79	64
Lakhimpur	+ 29.3	+ 27.3	+ 40.2	+ 40.2	+ 4.3	+ 40.5	143	104	82	26	40	27
Boksa	+ 12.7	*	...	...	...	...	9	*	...	...	...	...
Diphang	+ 21.2	*	...	...	...	...	7	*	...	...	...	...
SUBMA VALLEY	+ 3.3	+ 10.8	+ 5.3	+ 11.5	+ 17.0	+ 58.0	420	406	367	348	312	268
Cachar Plains	+ 7.4	+ 12.4	+ 12.0	+ 25.1	+ 12.3	+ 140.1	272	223	223	178	128	110
Jyoti	+ 2.7	+ 10.3	+ 4.0	+ 9.4	+ 14.5	+ 47.8	473	450	416	400	365	318
HILLS	+ 6.2	+ 18.5	+ 77.7	+ 22.1	+ 70.5	+ 218.7	37	34	29	10	21	12
Garo Hills	+ 15.7	+ 14.0	+ 13.7	+ 11.0	+ 5.7	+ 77.0	27	21	44	20	35	32
Jaintia Hills	+ 2.5	+ 16.2	+ 2.2	+ 12.0	+ 10.0	+ 73.3	43	30	34	33	28	23
North Cachar Hills	+ 2.0	+ 33.1	+ 112.5	+ 2.0	+ 52.0	+ 10.0	16	16	24	11	12	15
Naga Hills	+ 6.6	+ 40.1	+ 6.0	+ 1.1	+ 31.6	+ 128.6	62	40	33	31	31	23
Jorhat Hills	+ 7.2	+ 13.6	+ 54.0	†	†	†	14	13	11	6	†	†
Manipur	+ 10.0	+ 21.7	†	†	†	†	45	41	31	7	26	†

* Up to 1884, the two Frontier Tracts were included in Lakhimpur and Darrang districts.

† Figures not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Comparison with Vital Statistics.

District and natural divisions.	In 1911-1920 total number of		Number per cent. of population of 1911 of		Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of births over deaths.	Increase (+) decrease (-) of population of 1921 compared with 1901.	
	Birth.	Deaths.	Birth.	Deaths.		Natural population.	Actual population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ASSAM	1,952,760	1,832,415	32.4	31.4	+ 60,345	+ 417,154	+ 821,482
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	1,028,697	1,010,236	33.3	32.7	+ 18,401	+ 305,167	+ 723,159
Gcalpara	240,961	222,872	40.1	37.1	+ 18,089	+ 64,847	+ 161,838
Kamrup	208,729	189,479	31.3	28.4	+ 19,250	+ 37,671	+ 94,885
Darrang	133,436	151,195	35.4	40.2	- 17,759	+ 28,210	+ 101,484
Nowgong	96,258	92,602	31.9	30.7	+ 3,656	+ 26,670	+ 96,266
Sibsagar	213,310	203,652	30.9	29.5	+ 9,658	+ 90,542	+ 131,795
Lakhimpur	136,003	150,496	30.1	33.3	- 14,493	+ 57,227	+ 136,891
SURMA VALLEY	924,063	882,119	31.4	29.9	+ 41,944	+ 111,987	+ 98,323
Cachar plains	149,235	138,906	31.7	29.5	+ 10,329	+ 58,172	+ 30,317
Sylhet	774,828	743,213	31.3	30.0	+ 31,615	+ 58,815	+ 68,006

NOTE.—The statement is exclusive of the figures of the hill districts and Frontier Tracts as birth and death statistics are not recorded in them as a whole.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Variation by thanas classified according to density.

Natural division.	Decade.	Variation in thanas with a population per square mile at commencement of decade.				
		Under 150.	150—300.	300—450.	450—600.	600 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(a) Actual Variation.						
ASSAM	1911-1921	+ 491,064	+ 337,517	+ 60,483	+ 34,789	+ 5,872
Brahmaputra Valley	1911-1921	+ 408,212	+ 270,613	+ 58,016	+ 11,809	...
Surma Valley	1911-1921	+ 100	+ 66,904	+ 2,467	+ 22,980	+ 5,872
Hills	1911-1921	+ 82,752	...	...	...	...
(b) Variation per cent. on 1911 figures.						
ASSAM	1911-1921	+ 22.3	+ 18.7	+ 4.5	+ 4.1	+ 0.7
Brahmaputra Valley	1911-1921	+ 35.9	+ 23.0	+ 9.4	+ 6.6	...
Surma Valley	1911-1921	+ 0.2	+ 10.7	+ 0.3	+ 3.4	+ 0.7
Hills	1911-1921	+ 8.2	...	...	...	...

CHAPTER II.

THE POPULATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

47. The towns of Assam would hardly be recognised as such by dwellers in the great cities of other parts of India or of Europe or America. Fear of earthquakes restricts buildings generally to one storey only, and economy and heavy rainfall induce a wide use of corrugated iron for roofs and sometimes for walls and fences also.

Character of towns urban and rural census.

Paved streets with rows of high buildings, electric trams, statues of great men, are not to be seen. The picture palace has hardly appeared and motor bandits are as yet unknown. Even in the lean years of the last decade, however, several towns have made progress in providing amenities of life for their inhabitants. More filtered and piped water supplies have been installed and electric lighting systems have been constructed or are under construction here and there.

Vital statistics point to healthiness of the towns, with their better water-supply and facility for medical attendance, against rural areas. In every year of the decade, the urban death-rate was considerably lower than the provincial rate: this was especially noticeable in the influenza years 1918 and 1919 when the urban area death-rates were less than the provincial averages by 13 and 12·8 per thousand respectively. In 1919, the town crude birth-rate actually exceeded the provincial birth-rate, in spite of the deficit of females in towns. These facts indicate the existence of better conditions, rather than the different age and sex constitution, as the cause of superiority of town over rural health. Small as they are and often rural in appearance, there are 29 places in the province which have either some form of Municipal government or some other characteristics entitling them to be treated as towns. A town was defined for the census as including :—

- (1) Every Municipality.
- (2) All civil lines not within municipal limits.
- (3) Every cantonment.
- (4) Every other continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, which the provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as a town for census purposes.

Under (1) are included 16 Municipalities, and 9 Unions under the old Bengal Municipal law of 1871. Of the other four, Imphal is the capital of Manipur, and has a small cantonment attached; Kohima and Sadiya are district headquarters and trade centres; and Luding is a railway centre. The last three the Local Government ordered to be treated as towns, although they have been found to have less than 5,000 inhabitants. There are only four small cantonments: these have been treated as parts of the towns they adjoin.

Statistics of population for towns by sex, with variations for six censuses, are given in Imperial Table IV, and their population by religion in Imperial Table V. Urban and rural populations are compared in Imperial Tables I and III.

The three subsidiary tables at the end of this chapter show the proportion of the people living in towns and villages of different sizes; groups of towns classified according to size, with percentage variations at previous censuses; and numbers per thousand of the adherents of the chief religions living in towns. A village was defined in different ways according to locality and circumstances, as noted in paragraph 50 below. Very careful precautions were taken to ensure that every part of the country was taken in including every possible encampment or spot where travellers might be found, as well as ordinary residential towns and villages. The travelling population (11,183) has been shown separately in Imperial Table III, and as there were no disturbing factors such as serious epidemics or large fairs on the census date, the distribution of the population in the towns and villages may be taken as normal.

Towns were enumerated generally by municipal wards and streets. A village, if small, was made one census block; if large, two or more blocks. The rule was that a block should not fall partly in one and partly in another village. The staff employed in towns was naturally more educated than that of rural areas.

50. The first of all the operations of the census was to prepare or revise the general register of villages in every district. In the districts where there had been a cadastral survey, that is in Cachar and the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, it was found convenient to take the cadastral village as the census unit; this ensured that no village was omitted from the register, though it had the defect that the census village did not always correspond with the residential village.

Elsewhere in the plains, the definition was—

“A *gaon* or *gram* together with its adjacent *tolas*, *paras*, etc., provided that none of these dependent collections of houses are so large or so distant from the central village as to form in themselves true villages with distinct individual names.”

In the hills and frontier tracts, it was taken generally as a collection of houses bearing a separate name; this corresponded generally with the revenue or tax-paying village. In the Mikir Hills of Nowgong the jurisdiction of a *goanbura* was counted as a village.

The number of villages has increased by nearly 3,000 to 32,275. Many of the new villages are those of the Eastern Bengal immigrants in the Assam Valley; others are groups of temporary cultivation or *pam* houses of local people. The average village population is 240, against 233 in 1911. The Cachar plains and North Cachar Hills have the highest and lowest averages, 415 and 81 per village respectively. More than half the population live in villages with less than 500 inhabitants; in the Garo Hills, 99 per cent. of the villages are of this size. The increase in number of villages is most marked in Goalpara, Darrang and Nowgong, where there are large numbers of new immigrants. Kamrup shows an increase of two villages only, but I suspect that some uninhabited villages were included in 1911. Curiously, Sylhet, which has a large decrease in the number of houses, has an increase of over 1,200 villages. I can only account for this as being due to the personal equation of the local officers in calling more hamlets villages than were so called in 1911.

The people of the several *paras* and *mahallas* which make up the great and composite village of Banichong proper, in Sylhet district, number now 32,957, against 31,226 in 1911.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Number per mille of the total population and of each main religion who live in towns.

District and natural division.	Number per mille who live in town.					
	Total population.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Christian.	Jain.	Animist.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ASSAM	32	45	20	41	355	8
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY	29	31	40	36	326	2
Goalpara	23	32	15	1	361	1
Kamrup	41	48	35	70	890	2
Darrang	18	18	40	20	213	2
Nowgong	24	29	36	124	162	1
Sibsagar	22	19	134	40	109	2
Lakhimpur	38	85	350	31	289	1
Sadiya	91	156	412	107	637	10
Balipara* ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	16	29	12	135	416	7
Cachar plains	23	23	18	118	495	9
Sylhet	14	16	11	160	457	5
HILLS	92	291	87	27	637	7
Garo Hills* ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	71	619	707	86	1,000	30
North Cachar* ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naga Hills	17	289	109	8	541	5
Lushai Hills* ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maulpur	208	331	86	6	764	17

* No urban population.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Towns classified by population.

Class of Town.	Number of towns of each class in 1921.	Percentage of total urban population in each class.	Number of females per 1,000 males in towns as classed in 1921.	Increase per cent. in the population of the towns as classed at previous censuses.					Increase per cent. in urban population of each class from 1872 to 1921.	
				1921 to 1911.	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1901.	1872 to 1891.	(a) In towns as classed in 1872.	(b) In the total of class in 1921 as compared with the corresponding total of 1872.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
TOTAL	29	100	753	+12.5	+10.74	+14.1	+9.4	+15.8	+61.6	+330.1
I. 100,000 and over ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
II. 50,000 to 100,000	1	31.0	1,031	+7.2	+3.3	...	...	...	...	-10.0
III. 20,000 to 50,000 ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
IV. 10,000 to 20,000	6	34.3	685	+15.2	+12.8	-0.6	-15.4	-5.3	+15.0	+157.4
V. 5,000 to 10,000	7	17.4	632	+8.5	+13.7	-16.6	+11.3	...	...	+10.0
VI. Under 5,000	13	17.3	573	+24.4	+24.8	+10.4	+23.2	-12.1	+12.0	-11.0

* The percentages in columns 9 and 10 have been worked out on the basis of the adjusted figures shown in Imperial Table IV.

Many immigrants, especially tea-garden coolies, do not know the names of their home districts or provinces. Every endeavour was made, however, to obtain accurate statistics of birthplace by the enumerators' question and by reference to garden registers, maps, postal guides, etc., by the higher census officials in the districts and in the compilation offices. In the result we have only 452 immigrants returned as born in "Assam unspecified" and 659 in "India unspecified". There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statistics in the main, as regards Assam districts and names of other provinces; as to actual districts of other provinces, a good many mistakes and omissions have probably occurred.

53. As shown in Subsidiary Table IV of Chapter I, there were in 1921 in Assam 1,290,157 immigrants, while 75,896 persons born in the province were enumerated elsewhere. On the total population of 7,990,246 this gives a percentage of foreign-born in Assam of 16.1. The corresponding percentages for 1911 and 1901 were 12.5 and 13. On the other hand, the proportion of emigrants to the total Assam-born is only 1.1, against 1.3 in 1911. The statistics reflect clearly the attractions of the province by the tea industry and waste land available for colonization, as well as the home-staying propensity of the natives of Assam.

The statement in the margin shows the constitution per mille of the population

	1921.	1911.
1. BORN IN ASSAM	839	875
(a) In district of enumeration	823	857
(b) In contiguous districts ...	13	15
(c) In other districts	3	3
2. BORN IN OTHER PROVINCES	152	118
(a) In contiguous parts	10	9
(b) In other parts	142	109
3. BORN OUTSIDE INDIA	9	7
Total	1,000	1,000

according to birthplace, at the last two censuses. The small amount of migration within the province, commented on and explained in the last census report, is brought out again by these figures; in fact, not only the proportional, but the absolute number also of migrants between districts within the province is less than it was in 1911. The great increase in those born in other parts of India represents mainly colonists from Eastern Bengal and new tea-garden labourers. Those born outside India are chiefly men of Nepal—graziers and dairymen, cultivators, and sepoy of the Assam Rifles.

54. Subsidiary Table I shows immigrants to the natural divisions and to each district of the province, classified according to distance of birthplace. The contiguous districts of other provinces are represented chiefly in Sylhet and Goalpara.

There are 36,000 immigrants to Sylhet from Tippera and Mymensingh; these appear to be largely casual visitors from across the border, although a certain number have acquired land and settled in the west of the district especially in the Sunamganj subdivision, where they are reported to be more industrious than the local cultivators. For Goalpara, the adjoining Bengal districts are Rangpur, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar State; some of the 26,000 immigrants from these districts are casual and temporary visitors, but many of them are permanent settlers, as Goalpara is the nearest Assam Valley district with land available for cultivation. In the Hills division, the Garo Hills adjoins Mymensingh and shares in its plains mauzas a small part of the influx from that district. The Lushai Hills and Manipur have gained about 4,000 and 1,000 respectively, from the Chin Hills in Burma. These Chins are said to have come over to escape oppression from the chiefs in their own country. They are industrious cultivators and likely to be beneficial to the sparsely populated Lungleh Sub-division.

Column 11 of Subsidiary Table I shows the large number of 255,000 immigrants from contiguous parts of other provinces. It must be noted that most of these are regular settlers from Mymensingh and not casual immigrants merely crossing the border. Their goal is generally an Assam district some distance away from Mymensingh, and not one of its adjoining districts.

55. The vast majority of immigrants come from non-contiguous places. There is an indeterminate number of periodic visitors, mostly general labourers and earth-workers from Bihar and the United Provinces, and traders from various parts. Most of the permanent and semi-permanent immigrants fall into three great classes, of which I treat in the succeeding paragraphs. These are (1) those connected with tea; (2) Eastern Bengal cultivators; (3) those from beyond India—nearly all Nepalis.

56. About two-thirds of the Assam tea gardens are in the Brahmaputra Valley and the rest in the Surma Valley. The total population censused on tea gardens was 922,245. This includes managers and assistants, other workers, dependants and the stranger within the gates on census night. The number is about 90,000 less than the total given in the Government returns of immigrant labour. The difference is probably due to many coolies having been out visiting neighbouring villages at census time; also to the facts that the labour year does not end in the census month of March but in June, and that the Government returns include coal mines, oil fields and saw-mills.

Tea gardens—Immigration.

Lakhimpur (233,000) and Sihsagar (229,000) have the greatest tea-garden populations. Then come Sylhet (169,000), Cachar (138,000), Darrang (123,000), Nowgong (22,000). Kamrup, Goalpara and the two Frontier Tracts have less than 6,000 each.

The recruitment of tea-garden labourers by contractors has been abolished and the *sardari* system is now adopted generally. In this, certain sardars or selected men (and sometimes women) are sent by garden managers to their home districts every year in the recruiting season. These receive advances for expenses and work under the control of the Tea Districts Labour Supply Association; they describe the attractions of tea-garden life and prospects of ultimate settlement on independent holdings in a land where the monsoon never fails, and induce friends, relations and dependants to go to Assam. The usual reasons given for the immigrants' leaving their homes are poverty and scarcity, and want of fertile land; also, desire to join relations already in the tea districts.

There is no doubt they come to more certainty of the means of subsistence than they have in many cases at home, and if industrious, they can generally obtain good land and settle as permanent colonists within a few years of their arrival. How far they obtain a just reward for their labour as coolies, and how far the Contract Act generally in use now (India Act XIII of 1859) gives fair contracts, are subjects which have been under enquiry by a Committee appointed by the Government; they cannot be discussed here, as the Committee's report is not yet published*. Some remarks on the economic state of workers in the tea industry will be found, however, in Chapter XII of the report. District Officers are generally of opinion that new coolies are contented in their new surroundings.

The Labour Supply Association gets a commission, usually Rs. 15 for an adult and Rs. 7-8 for a child, and the sardar also gets a sum for each coolie he brings to the garden. Recruiting of families is preferred by managers, as single men are more liable to run away and thereby cause loss to the gardens of the considerable sums spent in bringing them up. Some remarks on age and sex figures for tea-garden population will be found in Chapters V and VI.

The coolies are conducted in parties by train and river steamer from their home districts by agents of the Labour Supply Association, and suitable arrangements are made for their food and clothing and medical attention *en route*.

The coal mines, oil wells and saw-mills of the Assam Valley generally recruit their labourers by this method also, and from the same districts, though the coal mines employ also a certain number of Chinese, Makranis and Pathans. The number of workers and dependants in these industries is over 10,000; but there are no separate statistics to show their birthplaces. The Badarpur oil-wells and the saw-mills in the Surma Valley depend more on local than imported labour.

In the 1911 report, Mr. McSwiney discussed in some detail the divisions of the major provinces of birth of tea immigrants and the Assam divisions to which they go. The climatic and general conditions are much the same still, however, and it would be useless to repeat the information then given. The actual districts of recruitment are known to those most concerned, *viz.*, the different Governments, the Assam Labour Board, the Labour Supply Association and the planters. It will be more profitable to consider the changes of the last ten years, by comparison of the figures for the provinces as a whole. The number of labourers on tea gardens rose to above a million in 1918-19, when no less than 324,000 new coolies were imported in the two years. The number fell again with the depression in 1920-21.

* Since published : Report of the Assam Labour Enquiry Committee, 1922.

57. Attempts have been made in the last two census reports to estimate the number of the foreign-born originally brought to the province for the tea gardens and the number of their descendants; or, in fact, the number of people in the province who would not have been here but for tea. The difficulties of this were pointed out by Mr. McSwiney in paragraph 38 of the 1911 report. The problem, with our present data, becomes increasingly complex and liable to error at each succeeding census. If any approach to accuracy is desired at future censuses, it will perhaps be necessary to insert an extra question in the schedule, enquiring if a person's parents or forefathers were originally on a tea garden.

The time-expired coolies who settle in Assam and open up new land are undoubtedly an asset. In the four upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley, where they are found in large numbers, they are reported to be much more industrious than the local Assamese cultivators, and they certainly increase the available food supply.

The annual Immigrant Labour returns of Government give the total number of new coolies imported to tea gardens in the ten years as 769,000, or nearly 77,000 a year. We can calculate the number lost by death, but there is also a column of the returns showing numbers lost by transfer, discharge and desertion, both among new and old coolies. These do not all leave the province, though some go back to their homes—where, it appears, they are not always well received. Some from Cachar and Sylhet have gone across the border into Tripura State, where several new tea gardens have been opened. Many drift into other districts and enter new gardens or work as ordinary labourers, and many settle on the land as permanent colonists. It is these people whose numbers it is hard to calculate, as well as those brought to Assam indirectly by the tea industry. The best method of estimating their numbers seems to be from the extent of land known to be held by them. The annual labour returns for 1920-21 give a total of about 292 thousand acres of Government and other temporarily-settled land held by ex-coolies; some is also held in the permanently-settled tracts, but its extent is unknown. If we take 300,000 acres as the total, and reckon 5 acres as supporting six persons, we reach 360,000 as the number of settled cultivating ex-coolies and their descendants. To these must be added a number for those indirectly connected with the industry; in 1911 Mr. McSwiney estimated these at about half a million. I think this estimate is too high: it must be remembered that many of the carters, boatmen, earthworkers, house-builders, traders and others connected with tea gardens are men of the province and therefore to be excluded from the calculation. Others, such as Marwari traders, were censused on the tea gardens, and so do not come into the outsiders' list. Taking a lower estimate of 130 or 140 thousand for the indirect class and adding to the settled cultivators, we have a total of half a million living outside the gardens, but whose presence is due to tea immigration. For the immigrants and their descendants actually on tea gardens, I find a total of about 840,000, which is obtained from Provincial Table X (tea-garden population by caste) after subtracting all those of indigenous castes belonging to Assam, as far as they can be determined. In the result I estimate that the total number of foreigners now in the province on account of the tea industry is about a million and a third, that is to say, one-sixth of the whole population of Assam. This is only a rough estimate; and it is more likely to be under than over-estimated. I have attempted to check the number by figures of languages spoken in the districts of origin of tea coolies but the result is worthless, on account of the inaccuracy of language returns for the foreign population by Assamese enumerators and also on account of the large number of Hindi-speaking men who come to Assam independently of tea garden business, and who cannot be separated in the language tables from tea garden Hindi-speakers.

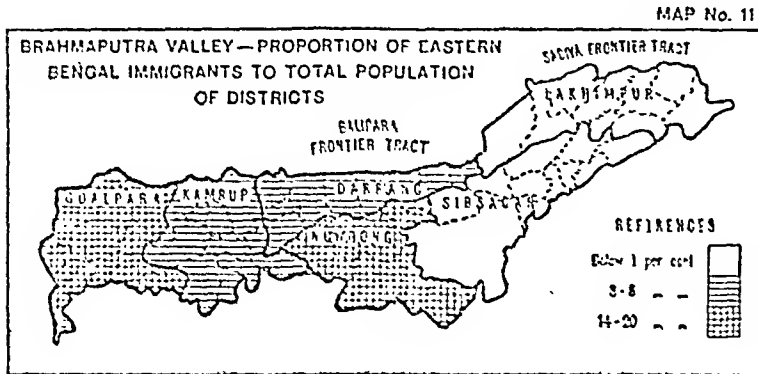
58. The influx of immigrants from Eastern Bengal has formed the subject of questions and unfavourable comment in the Legislative Council by members representing certain Assam Valley constituencies. In Chapter I, I have remarked on this wave of immigration and its bearing on the growth of the population. I propose now to examine it in more detail.

In that classic of Assam, the Census Report of 1891, Mr. (now Sir Edward) Gait wrote—

It might have been thought that the amount of cultivable land, the fertility of the soil, and the low rents prevailing would have induced some portion at least of the overcrowded cultivators of Bengal to find their way to Assam and take up land there. But this does not appear to be the case. The coolies for tea gardens come to Assam because they are more than usually indigent, and are specially

If we add the children born after arrival in Assam—and there is a goodly proportion of women aged 15—40 among the immigrants—the total number of settlers in the valley must come to at least 300,000.

The subjoined map shows how the new comers are distributed in the districts.



The two upper districts and the frontier tracts are scarcely touched as yet. In Goalpara nearly 20 per cent. of the population is made up of these settlers. The next favourite district is Nowgong, where they form about 14 per cent. of the whole population. In Kamrup waste lands are being taken up rapidly,

especially in Barpeta subdivision. In Darrang, exploration and settlement by the colonists is in an earlier stage; they have not yet penetrated far from the Brahmaputra banks.

As shown in the occupation columns of the Provincial Table, only about 30,000 of those born in the named districts of Eastern Bengal are non-agriculturists; they are chiefly traders, shopkeepers, timber merchants, clerks, professional men. The remainder, over 88 per cent. of the total, are ordinary cultivators of holdings generally under Government, with a sprinkling of field labourers. The few censused in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur are nearly all engaged in trade, less than 300 cultivators of the class in question having settled in either district. The reasons given for leaving their home districts in the case of the great mass of the colonists are pressure on the soil, and sometimes actual loss of their lands and even homesteads by diluvion; cheap, plentiful and fertile land, with the freedom of a *ryotwari* settlement in Assam in place of expensive and uncomfortable holdings as tenants or under-tenants in Bengal. On first taking up their new lands they sometimes have them cleared of jungle and dug up by hired Nuniya labourers. This, and their railway or steamer fares, some house-building materials and possibly some land-price paid to local people or unauthorised fees to subordinate revenue officials, constitute their only expenses in opening the new life. They erect their own characteristic type of house, and their villages can be distinguished at once from those of the Assamese.

They are hard working and good cultivators who cannot fail to benefit the country. In Goalpara, Darrang and Nowgong they have produced a great increase in crimes of violence and rioting; in Kamrup some increase, but little in proportion to the numbers. Their character and effect are best described in the words of the Deputy Commissioners of Nowgong and Kamrup. Mr. Higgins writes from Nowgong—

"...They do better cultivation than the local people and as such they are certainly beneficial to the country; since their advent the local people seem to be shaking off their old lethargy and they have created a novel sphere of competition....."

Mr. Bentinck, Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, says—

"...In industry and skill they are an object lesson to the local cultivators: they have reclaimed and brought under permanent cultivation thousands of acres which the local cultivators had for generations past merely scratched with haphazard and intermittent crops or recognised as exigent of efforts beyond their inclination.

The large undulating expenses of *char* lands to be seen in late March or early April finely harrowed, weeded and newly sown are something to which the spectacle of ordinary Assamese cultivation is quite unaccustomed. They have besides their industry shown examples of new crops and improved methods. They do not at present mix well with the local population: the latter in a great many instances sold the new comers *sarkari* lands at rates highly profitable to the sellers and the discovery of this has left a not unnatural soreness. The local cultivators on the other hand regarded the new comers as savages, whose pernicious habits were only partially relented by their ignorance of local land-tenures. Nevertheless collisions between the two communities have been rare, partly because it takes two to make a fight and partly because there was really plenty of room and the new comers wished to be left to themselves..... They are sudden and quick in quarrel, greedy of land and sometimes impatient of control, but with a marked appreciation of fair play, especially a refreshing way of realising that what they deserve is not necessarily continuous with what they desire....."

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.
Immigration (actual figures).

District and natural division where enumerated.	Born in (1909's omitted).																	
	District (or natural division).			Contiguous district in province.			Other parts of province.			Contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Outside India.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM ...	6,700	3,429	3,271	—	—	—	—	—	—	255	139	116	961	532	429	74	49	25
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	2,816	1,452	1,364	10	6	4	8	6	2	28	16	12	934	519	415	60	39	21
Goalpara ...	230	281	273	5	3	2	1	1	—	55	15	11	171	101	70	9	6	3
Kamrup ...	691	346	345	2	3	2	2	1	1	—	—	—	60	41	23	9	6	2
Darrang ...	254	145	109	11	7	4	2	1	1	—	—	—	161	87	74	19	11	8
Nowgong ...	205	140	147	4	3	3	2	1	1	—	—	—	69	51	37	3	2	1
Sibsagar ...	113	311	294	9	4	4	4	3	1	—	—	—	219	111	90	5	3	2
Lakhimpur ...	329	171	159	14	8	6	4	3	1	—	—	—	232	123	107	9	6	8
Sadiya ...	25	13	12	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	7	4	3	4	3	1
Balipara* ...	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	—
SURMA VALLEY ...	2,830	1,457	1,373	4	2	2	2	2	—	38	19	19	193	104	90	2	2	—
Cachar (including North Cachar) ...	437	224	213	24	16	8	1	1	—	—	—	—	65	25	39	1	1	—
Sylhet ...	2,397	1,236	1,161	6	2	2	1	1	—	27	14	19	133	79	60	1	1	—
HILLS ...	1,019	498	521	19	7	5	—	—	—	24	7	7	9	7	2	12	8	2
Garo Hills ...	166	84	62	2	2	2	—	—	—	6	3	3	1	1	—	1	1	—
North Cachar Hills ...	—	—	—	Separate figures not available.														
Jaintia and Jaintia Hills ...	220	111	119	4	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	1	6	4	2
Naga Hills ...	154	76	78	2	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	1	1	—
Lushai Hills ...	67	40	47	2	1	1	—	—	—	7	3	4	1	1	—	1	1	—
Manipur State ...	276	123	153	4	2	2	1	1	—	2	1	1	1	1	—	2	1	1

* In Balipara the number of females under each class and that of persons in column 6 are less than 100.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.
Immigration (actual figures).

District and natural division of birth.	Emigrated in (1909's omitted).																	
	District (or natural division).			Contiguous district in province.			Other parts of province.			Contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Non-contiguous parts of other provinces, etc.			Outside India.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
ASSAM ...	6,700	3,429	3,271	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	31	28	17	13	4	—	—	—
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	2,816	1,452	1,364	7	4	3	2	2	—	6	4	2	4	3	2	—	—	—
Goalpara ...	230	281	273	7	4	3	2	2	—	6	2	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Kamrup ...	691	346	345	10	7	3	4	3	1	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
Darrang ...	254	145	135	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Nowgong ...	205	140	147	9	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sibsagar ...	113	311	294	17	10	7	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lakhimpur ...	329	171	159	7	4	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sadiya ...	25	13	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Balipara ...	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SURMA VALLEY ...	2,830	1,457	1,373	10	6	4	2	2	—	50	26	24	6	5	2	—	—	—
Cachar (including North Cachar) ...	437	224	213	11	6	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—
Sylhet ...	2,397	1,236	1,161	23	16	7	6	5	1	49	24	23	6	5	1	—	—	—
HILLS ...	1,019	498	521	11	6	5	2	2	—	9	2	2	3	2	1	—	—	—
Garo Hills ...	166	84	62	3	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North Cachar ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jaintia and Jaintia Hills ...	220	111	119	4	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Naga Hills ...	154	76	78	2	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lushai Hills ...	67	40	47	2	1	1	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Manipur State ...	276	123	153	3	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	5	2	1	—	—	—

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Migration between the Province, including Manipur, and other parts of India.

PART I.

Provinces or State.	Immigrants to Assam.			Emigrants from Assam.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigration over emigration.	
	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	1,216,061	831,118	+385,543	75,886	79,193	-3,307	+1,140,775	+751,925
A—BRITISH TERRITORY	1,130,074	797,219	+332,855	35,251	48,080	-12,829	+1,094,823	+749,139
Ajmer-Merwara	32	46	-14	7	...	+7	+25	+46
Andamans and Nicobars ...	1	6	-5	147	140	+7	-146	-131
Baluchistan (Districts and Administered Territories) ...	167	190	-3	22	10	+12	+165	+180
Bengal	373,873	191,912	+181,961	28,557	36,490	-7,933	+315,316	+155,422
Bihar and Orissa	535,565	393,201	+142,364	887	6,335	-5,448	+534,678	+386,866
Bombay (including Aden) ...	1,105	853	+252	678	142	+536	+427	+711
Burma	7,413	2,299	+5,114	3,018	3,242	-224	+4,395	-943
Central Provinces and Berar...	77,052	72,491	+4,561	101	186	-85	+76,978	+72,305
Ceylon	14	2	+12	...	...	...	+14	+2
Delhi	97	...	+97	92	...	+92	+5	...
Madras	51,527	31,507	+20,020	51	201	-153	+51,476	+31,303
North-West Frontier Province (Districts and Administered Territories)	295	91	+204	505	20	+485	-210	+71
Punjab	2,901	3,306	-405	356	147	+239	+2,515	+3,159
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	76,982	98,315	-21,333	797	1,164	-367	+76,185	+97,151
B—INDIAN STATES	85,841	33,788	+52,053	40,635	31,113	+9,522	+45,306	+2,675
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts)...	1	17	-16	...	...	...	+1	+17
Baroda	125	...	+125	2	...	+2	+123	...
Bengal States	1,705	1,963	-258	40,245	30,820	+9,425	-39,540	-28,857
Bihar and Orissa States ...	35,077	6,166	+28,911	62	27	+35	+35,015	+6,139
Bombay States	71	1,710	-1,639	13	1	+12	+58	+1,709
Central India Agency	17,602	7,104	+10,498	56	8	+48	+17,546	+7,096
Central Provinces States ...	14,311	4,530	+9,781	22	5	+17	+14,289	+4,525
Gwalior	332	...	+332	23	...	+23	+307	...
Hyderabad	160	119	+41	6	5	...	+155	+114
Kashmir	46	19	+27	2	...	+2	+44	+19
Madras States (including Cochin and Travancore)	19	23	-4	14	...	+14	+5	+23
Mysore	234	141	+93	18	48	-30	+216	+93
North-West Frontier Province (Agency and Tribal areas)...	23	18	+5	...	1	-1	+23	+17
Punjab States	277	189	+88	18	28	-10	+269	+161
Rajputana Agency	15,770	11,620	+4,150	46	111	-65	+15,724	+11,509
Sikkim	22	52	-30	...	1	-1	+22	+51
United Provinces States ...	66	117	-51	107	58	+49	-41	+59
INDIA UNSPECIFIED	689	75	+614	...	...	...	+689	+75
FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS...	57	36	+21	...	...	...	+57	+36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Migration between the Province, including Manipur, and other parts of India.

PART I.

Province or State.	Immigrants to Assam.			Emigrants from Assam.			Excess (+) or deficiency (-) of immigration over emigration.	
	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL	1,316,001	831,118	+385,543	75,866	70,103	-3,307	+1,140,775	+751,825
A—BRITISH TERRITORY	1,130,074	707,210	+332,855	35,251	48,080	-12,829	+1,094,823	+749,139
Ajmer-Merwara	32	46	-14	7	...	+7	+25	+46
Andaman and Nicobars ...	1	6	-5	147	140	+7	-146	-134
Baluchistan (Districts and Administered Territories) ...	187	190	-3	22	10	+12	+165	+180
Bengal	373,873	191,912	+181,961	28,657	36,490	-7,933	+345,316	+155,422
Bihar and Orissa	635,665	393,201	+142,364	687	6,335	-5,448	+534,678	+386,866
Bombay (including Aden) ...	1,105	853	+252	678	142	+536	+427	+711
Burma	7,413	2,299	+5,114	3,018	3,242	-224	+4,395	-943
Central Provinces and Berar ...	77,082	72,491	+4,591	101	186	-85	+76,878	+72,305
Cooch	14	2	+12	...	...	...	+14	+2
Delhi	97	...	+97	92	...	+92	+5	...
Madras	51,527	31,507	+20,020	51	204	-153	+54,476	+34,303
North-West Frontier Province (Districts and Administered Territories)	295	91	+204	505	20	+485	-210	+71
Punjab	2,901	3,306	-405	386	147	+239	+2,515	+3,159
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	76,982	98,316	-21,333	797	1,164	-367	+76,185	+97,151
B—INDIAN STATES	85,841	33,788	+52,053	40,635	31,113	+9,522	+45,206	+2,675
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts) ...	1	17	-16	...	...	...	+1	+17
Baroda	126	...	+125	2	...	+2	+123	...
Bengal States	1,705	1,963	-258	40,215	30,820	+9,425	-39,540	-28,857
Bihar and Orissa States ...	35,077	6,166	+28,911	62	27	+35	+35,015	+6,139
Bombay States	71	1,710	-1,639	13	1	+12	+58	+1,709
Central India Agency	17,602	7,101	+10,499	56	8	+48	+17,546	+7,096
Central Provinces States ...	14,311	4,530	+9,781	22	5	+17	+14,289	+4,525
Gwalior	332	...	+332	25	...	+25	+307	...
Hyderabad	160	119	+41	5	5	...	+155	+114
Kashmir	46	19	+27	2	...	+2	+44	+19
Madras States (including Coshin and Travancore)	19	23	-4	14	...	+14	+5	+23
Mysore	234	141	+93	18	48	-30	+216	+93
North-West Frontier Province (Agency and Tribal areas) ...	23	18	+5	...	1	-1	+23	+17
Punjab States	277	189	+88	18	28	-10	+259	+161
Rajputana Agency	15,770	11,620	+4,150	46	111	-65	+15,724	+11,509
Sikkim	22	52	-30	...	1	-1	+22	+51
United Provinces States ...	66	117	-51	107	58	+49	-41	+59
INDIA UNSPECIFIED	689	75	+614	...	...	...	+689	+75
FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS...	57	36	+21	...	...	...	+57	+36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Migration between Assam State (Manipur) and other parts of India.

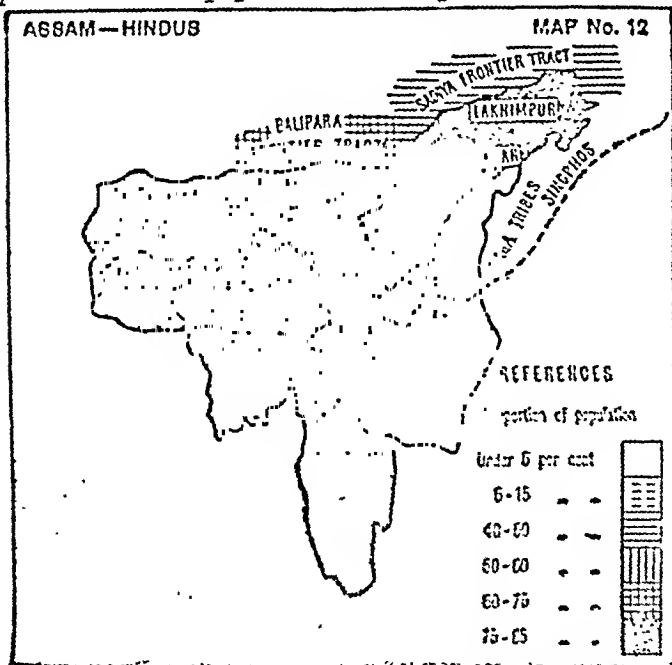
PART—III.

Province or State.	Immigrants to Assam State (Manipur).			Emigrants from Assam States (Manipur).			Excess (+) or deficiency (—) of immigration over emigration.	
	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.	Variation.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
TOTAL ...	6,598	6,813	—215	7,434	6,256	+1,178	—836	+557
A—BRITISH TERRITORY	2,262	1,832	+430	2,473	2,584	—111	—211	—752
Ajmer-Merwara ..	2	...	+2	...	...	...	+2	...
Andamans and Nicobars ..	...	...	...	...	30	—30	...	...
Baluchistan (Districts and Administered Territories).	...	...	...	8	...	+8	—8	...
Bengal ...	369	300	+69	338	114	+224	+31	+186
Bihar and Orissa ...	438	503	—65	55	32	+23	+383	+471
Bombay (including Aden) ..	...	12	—12	61	34	+27	—61	—22
Barma ...	1,098	48	+1,050	1,505	2,118	—613	—407	—2,070
Central Provinces and Berar	18	20	—2	12	40	—28	+6	—20
Cerge ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi ...	1	...	+1	...	...	...	+1	...
Madras ...	2	10	—8	...	...	...	+2	...
North-West Frontier Province (Districts and Administered Territories).	4	6	—1	...	10	—10	+4	—5
Punjab ...	78	447	—369	502	30	+272	—224	+417
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.	262	487	—235	192	176	+16	+60	+311
B—INDIAN STATES ...	219	205	+14	208	113	+95	+11	+92
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baroda ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bengal States ...	3	...	+3	197	107	+90	—194	...
Bihar and Orissa States ...	...	...	...	2	...	+2	—2	...
Bombay States...	...	7	—7	...	1	—1	...	+6
Central India Agency ...	...	2	—2	...	...	...	...	...
Central Provinces States ...	4	...	+4	1	...	+1	+3	...
Gwalior ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hyderabad ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kashmir ...	2	1	+1	...	...	...	+2	...
Madras States (including Travancore and Cochin)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mysore ...	...	1	—1	...	...	...	...	...
North-West Frontier (Agency and Tribal areas).	2	...	+2	...	...	...	+2	...
Punjab States ...	12	75	—63	...	1	—1	+12	+74
Rajputana ...	196	115	+81	8	3	+5	+188	+112
Sikkim ...	...	3	—3	...	1	—1	...	+2
United Provinces States ...	...	1	—1	...	...	...	...	...
INDIA UNSPECIFIED ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C—ASSAM, BRITISH TERRITORY.	4,117	4,776	—659	4,753	3,559	+1,194	—636	+1,217

The Hindus of the province are made up of the same elements as at previous census:—(1) the indigenous regular Hindu population and old converts, with their descendants, (2) new converts from Animism, and (3) immigrants—chiefly tea garden coolies. The first class includes all usually known as Hindus, from Brahmans to Chamars and Mehtars. Although there has been a good deal of discussion, largely in connection with recent political movements, about the levelling up of lower castes and brotherhood of all from the religious and human standpoints, it appears to be still in the domain of talk and not of practice. For instance, one district officer invited a young high-caste official of the local branch of the National Congress to bring five Hindus and five Muhammadans of the *bhadralok* class to dine at his (the Deputy Commissioner's) expense with five municipal sweepers. He was met with a *non-possumus*. Asked how this could be regarded as progress towards one of the avowed goals of his party, the leader replied "We cannot dine together thus yet, but we can contemplate it. A short time ago I could not even think of such a thing." There is no doubt that educated Hindu opinion has broadened in the decade; I have received notes from several correspondents on this. The majority consider that the influence of Brahmans is waning (but this is not the case in Manipur). The rigidity of several religious rules and customs is being relaxed gradually. It is impossible to mention all these, such as entry of cooksheds, touching of the *hukka*, polluting by touch of certain castes, and penance after travel to foreign countries. One instance cited by an Assamese gentleman may be given: he writes that Chutiyas and high class Ahoms, who were formerly not allowed to do so, are nowadays being gradually permitted to enter the cooksheds of some clean caste Hindus excepting Brahmans. Enquiry has also shown that the inclusion of Ahoms in the list of castes not served by good Brahmans as family priests (page 40, Assam Census report of 1911) was not justified fully by the facts.

This broadening of view and decline of Brahman influence is ascribed to modern education, to Brahmans adopting secular occupations, and to influence of foreign service conditions on those who went to the war. Such an experienced observer as Rai Bahadur Aghor Nath Adhikari of Silchar says bluntly "nowadays the leaders are freethinkers." It is of course most noticeable in the towns and appears rather in the attitude of Hindus of higher castes towards heterodox customs among themselves (*e.g.*, going to foreign countries, or eating forbidden things) than in any increased brotherhood towards the so-called lower castes. Social and political movements have certainly made more serious attempts to improve the status of castes regarded as untouchable, but much of this has been verbal, and it is noteworthy that Hindu and aboriginal recruits to recent advanced political views had generally to be obtained by promises of material benefit; where these were absent, the number of Hindus of the uneducated classes in the movement was very small. Many of those generally regarded as lower castes have concentrated their efforts at improvement in social status on the caste column at the census, getting a different, and what they considered a better, entry; to this end also they have tended towards more orthodoxy in religious matters, considering that non-orthodox will be regarded as uncivilised practices. Hindus form 54·6 per cent. of the population of the province. In 1911 the proportion was 54·4. For

historical reasons, described in the last census report, they are most numerous in the Brahmaputra Valley, with nearly 69 per cent.; in the Surma Valley they form 46·6 and in the Hills only 26·7 of the whole population. Sibsagar and Lakhimpur have the highest proportions, both for historical reasons and because these two districts are as yet almost untouched by the Muhammadan incursion from Eastern Bengal. The increase in the ten years in the Hindu population of Assam is nearly 524,000, or 13·6 per cent., a rate slightly higher than the provincial increase, 13·2 per cent. In the Brahmaputra Valley and the Hills the propor-



In the last census report it was pointed out that most of the Surma Valley Muslims are descendants of local converts dating from the Muhammadan invasion of the 14th century, while the Assam Valley Muslims are descendants of the survivors of invading armies, and also recent immigrants from East Bengal. New conversions to Muhammadanism are rare. The Maulvis prefer rather to expound the scriptures to the Faithful than to attract infidels. In the few cases that do occur, the new Muslim converts are not placed under any religious or social disabilities. Social customs have not changed enough to influence the statistics in any way.

In 1901 sects of Muhammadans were recorded; the vast majority were found to be Sunnis. In 1911 sects were not entered. As the question of the number of Shias was raised in Parliament in 1920, it was decided by the Local Government to have the sect recorded at the 1921 census for Shias only. Practically all the Muhammadans of Assam are Sunnis. The number of Shias returned in the province was only 434. In 1901, when sects were last recorded, Shias numbered 2,724.

67. The beliefs known as Animistic were described in the last Census report.

Animists:

Briefly, the word is used as a general term for the religions of all primitive tribes; the census instruction was

"where a person has no recognised religion such as Christian, Hindu, Muhammadan, etc., his tribe should be entered. This will generally be the case with Santals, Garos, Lushais, Mikirs, Kacharis, etc."

At the last Census the Animists had increased by as much as 16 per cent. of their 1901 total, that is to say, more rapidly than the general population. This result was ascribed by Mr. McSwiney partly to immigration and partly to greater accuracy in recording religions. At this census the rate has dropped to 1.4 per cent. The absolute increase is only 17,361 and this is more than accounted for by immigration and by areas newly censused in frontier districts. The immigrants are, on tea gardens an increase of 45,000 Santals, Mundas, Oraons, Gonds and others, and in the Lushai Hills about 4,000 Chins from Burma. New tracts give about 23,000 Konyaks, Abors and Mishmis.

Leaving out the 72,000 thus accounted for there is a substantial decrease of Animists. The reasons are (1) conversion to Hinduism; (2) conversion to Christianity; (3) the influenza epidemic. Of (1) I have remarked in paragraph 65 above. Absorption of members of aboriginal tribes in the Hindu fold has gone on in the well-known manner in the plains, in Manipur and in the North Cachar Hills.

Tribe.	1921.		1911.	
	Hindu.	Animist.	Hindu.	Animist.
Chutiya ...	95,957	22	86,328	2,497
Garos ...	3,422	158,493	505	143,845
Kachari ...	71,192	136,074	60,235	169,667
Lalang ...	3,354	37,679	496	38,723
Mikir ...	10,977	100,652	736	104,341
Miri ...	45,424	23,301	13,460	44,332

The marginal statement (taken from Imperial Table XIII) gives some idea of the results in a few tribes. It is only an approximation, since variations in accuracy of the return of religion at the two censuses cannot be ruled out in these cases; further, it does not show those new converts who have adopted Hindu caste names in place of their tribal names.

The advance of Christianity will be discussed in the next paragraph; a drop of 19,000 in the number of Animists in the Lushai Hills is the most striking point under this head. The third reason, influenza, is exemplified in the Naga Hills and the Jowai subdivision of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. In the Naga Hills, if we exclude the new area added, the general population shows a very small increase: the old animists have not grown in number, but have lost both by influenza and by conversions to Christianity. In Jowai, where the population is nearly 80 per cent. animistic, there was a general drop of 6.7 per cent. owing to influenza and other bad conditions of the decade.

In the Surma Valley, as might be expected from the firm positions of Hinduism and Muhammadanism and the paucity of Animists, Christianity has little hold. The number of Christians has, however, increased to 3,300. These are mostly tea garden coolies who were Christians before they emigrated to Assam. There are also a few ex-Namasudras of the ordinary population.

In the Brahmaputra Valley all districts have increased their numbers of Christians. Goalpara has the largest number, 10,312, and also the greatest increase, as will be seen from Subsidiary Table III. This is due to the activity of the Lutheran Mission, referred to in the next paragraph. In the other districts of the valley most of the Christians are found among the tea-garden immigrants, though the missions have had some success also among primitive tribes, such as the Mikirs.

Examination of the age statistics in Imperial Table VII shows that Christian converts are made in fair numbers at all ages. The proportion of children aged under 10 is somewhat less among Christians than among the general population. In the age groups from 10 to 30 the proportion is greater for Christians. Thereafter, the general population has the higher proportions, progressively as the ages increase. As conditions of life do not differ greatly between the Christians and the Animists from whom the great bulk of the converts come, we may fairly deduce that the period from 10 to 30 years of age is the most popular for conversion: this is possibly due to the influence of mission schools on present and past pupils. Since material inducements are not offered and the help and advice of the Missionaries is not denied to followers of other religions, it appears that the chief motive of the converts in adopting Christianity is religious; though no doubt the care and attention displayed in mission hospitals and schools is a contributory cause by example. There are as yet no signs of any movement towards forming a national or independent Indian Christian Church in Assam.

69. The distribution of Christians in districts by sect and for three race divisions, European and allied races, Anglo-Indians and Indians, is given in Imperial Table XV. The marginal statement shows the Provincial figures for sect in brief. Sixty per cent. of Europeans are

Christians.				Assam.
Protestant	...	...	...	126,563
Anglican	...	...	...	7,807
Baptist	...	...	...	45,032
Lutheran	...	...	...	8,443
Presbyterian	...	...	...	63,909
Unsectarian and other Protestants	...	...	...	1,371
Roman Catholic	...	...	...	5,419
Greek	...	...	...	1
Sect not returned	...	...	...	123
Total	...	...	...	132,106

members of the Church of England, 19 per cent. Presbyterians and 12 per cent. Roman Catholics. Nearly half the Anglo-

Indian community is Roman Catholic.

Among Indian Christians almost half are

Presbyterians and over one-third are

Baptists.

Roman Catholics are distributed fairly evenly over the tea districts, with a few hundreds in each; most of these are garden coolies but some are local converts. In the Khasi Hills there are over 2,000 Catholics. The Mission working is the Roman Catholic Mission of Assam, with branches in Cachar, Sylhet, Kamrup, Darrang and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Germans of this Mission have been replaced by French and Belgian fathers.

Among Protestant sects, the Church of England has most of its adherents in the Brahmaputra Valley, there being over 2,000 each in Darrang and Sibsagar. The Society for the propagation of the Gospel is working in the four upper districts of the valley. Lutherans are almost confined to the Brahmaputra Valley; those on the tea gardens are looked after by the Evangelical Lutheran (Gossner's) mission, which has stations in Darrang and Lakhimpur and which came to Assam to father its emigrant converts. The largest and most flourishing Lutheran community is, however, in Goalpara under the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches (Scandinavian), which maintains a colony and owns a tea estate, to which are brought Santals from Chota Nagpur. These missionaries also work among the Meches outside the colony. Their followers in the district have increased from 2,400 to 8,400 in ten years.

Baptists have more than doubled their numbers since 1911. Their missions have been very active, working in almost every district where the Welsh Mission has no branch. In Lungleh subdivision of the Lushai Hills the success of the London Baptist mission has already been noted; in North Lakhimpur the Canadian, and in Garo Hills, Kamrup, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Sadiya, Naga Hills and Manipur, the American Baptist missions are established. Their converts are chiefly members of the aboriginal tribes. In every one of these mission districts the increase of Baptists has

No Aryan were censused in Assam. There are 559 Brahmos against 428 in 1911. Nearly half of these were at Shillong, doubtless owing to the presence of the Government offices and Calcutta visitors. It is admitted on all sides that loosening of the rigour of Hindu rules is responsible for the low number of Brahmos : liberal-minded Assamese and Bengali people find that they can now hold what views they please and regulate their conduct much as they please while still retaining the name of Hindu. On the other hand there appears to be no tendency for Brahmos to be reabsorbed in Hinduism.

72. Details are given on the title-page of Imperial Table VI of the 320 persons whose religions are classed as minor on account of their numerical insignificance. Among these are a few Jews,

Miscellaneous.

Parsees and Confucians ; the majority fall under the head of indefinite beliefs, which includes Unitarians, freethinkers, atheists, agnostics and persons acknowledging no religion. All those of indefinite belief were tabulated as Christian in 1911 ; this year the Census Commissioner decided to omit them from Table XV as being out of place in a table which purports to show Christians only. Unitarians number 335, most of whom are in the Khasi Hills, where they have a church.

A few interesting and sometimes cryptic entries were found in the religion column of the schedules. In Sibsagar some enumerators entered the religion of Miris as *ādi dharma*, which might have meant primeval or principal, according to the meaning assigned to the Sanskrit *ādi*. Enquiry showed that the people were Animists and correction was made accordingly in the Central office. One European official returned himself as an Animist, holding that this was the nearest of the common words in use to describe the beliefs he held. Only one person, a highly educated Indian official, described himself as an atheist ; the entry disappeared from Assam, however, as he was absent on the final census day. Two or three persons of really coruscant wit, Europeans using household schedules, amused themselves by such entries as Primitive Exceptionist and Nothing-arian.

73. Of the total tea-garden population of 922,000, over 782,000 or nearly 85 per cent. are Hindus. Animists number 110,000, about 12 per cent. of the total, against a proportion of a little over 9 per cent. in 1911 : this points to the increased recruiting from Chota Nagpur and Central Provinces animistic tribes, mentioned in the last chapter under tea-garden immigration.

Religion on tea-gardens.

Musalmauns number only 19,000, a very slight increase on the 1911 number. Other religions account for 11,000, of whom about nine-tenths are Christians.

74. Apart from the intrinsic interest of the figures for the different religions tabulated in the main tables which have been quoted in the foregoing discussion, religion appears as a basis of classification of most of the statistics presented in the Imperial Tables. It has been suggested that this system should be abandoned in favour of some other classification based on social and economic condition. Religious differences divide society vertically and are no longer, it is said, the determining factors in customs such as early marriage, seclusion of women, treatment of children ; such matters are determined by horizontal divisions of society, differentiated from one another by economic and social conditions.

Religion as a basis of classification.

In Assam, I think the argument can hold only partially. It is true that in some places and in some matters there are differences which are determined by considerations other than those of religion : for instance the Rev. G. G. Crozier of Manipur quotes the case of Manipur Hindus who will allow an Animist from their own hills to enter their cooksheds but will not allow a Bengali, even a Brahman, to do so, because the Bengali is a foreigner while the Manipuri Animist is not. Again, a blind man of the Rajkumar caste was being led by the arm by a Manipuri Christian : the blind man accidentally touched his own cookhouse ; pollution was regarded as having passed through him from the Christian and the shed had to be demolished. Such instances, however, do not usually refer to customs of demological importance.

These are more often determined by territorial divisions, and by caste, but partly by religion. For instance, both Hindus and Muhammadans marry earlier than Animists and Christians, a fact proved again by our present census statistics. Tabulation by territorial units we have already ; caste we have also as a basis of division, but this again is based largely on religious sanction. As I have shown above, there is a tendency among those Hindu castes who are making efforts to rise in the social scale to tighten rather than to loosen the bonds of orthodoxy. The reaction of this on social customs has been exemplified in recent years by the tendency in certain castes such as Mali, Patni, Nadiyal, to stop their women working in the fields or sell

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General distribution of the population by Religion.

Religion and Locality.	Actual Number in 1921.	Proportion per 10,000 of population.					Variation per cent. (increase; + decrease—).				Net variation per cent.
		1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1911 to 1921.	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
HINDU.											
ASSAM	4,362,571	5,460	5,437	5,597	5,472	6,258	+13.6	+11.9	+14.4	-6.1	+36.6
Brahmaputra Valley ...	2,652,129	6,578	7,014	7,182	6,884	8,501	+21.6	+15.9	+8.0	-8.6	+40.1
Surma Valley	1,418,950	4,635	4,771	5,000	4,950	5,039	+1.1	+5.7	+5.7	+10.6	+24.9
Hills	291,152	2,668	2,523	2,584	599	2,661	+14.5	+18.7	+627.3	-81.6	+77.0
MUSLIMAN.											
ASSAM	2,219,947	2,778	2,693	2,581	2,710	2,591	+16.6	+20.2	+6.6	+12.3	+67.9
Brahmaputra Valley ...	586,182	1,620	1,143	950	981	918	+65.0	+42.3	+3.6	+17.6	+156.9
Surma Valley	1,034,012	5,273	5,108	4,929	4,004	4,006	+5.5	+16.3	+5.7	+11.6	+44.3
Hills	23,743	272	251	239	136	180	+17.3	-0.5	+271.2	-2.2	+207.2
ANIMIST.											
ASSAM	1,256,641	1,573	1,755	1,741	1,771	1,124	+1.4	+16.0	+10.2	+69.1	+119.1
Brahmaputra Valley ...	62,742	1,459	1,731	1,752	1,974	234	+4.4	+15.5	-3.5	+307.1	+373.8
Surma Valley	11,579	49	63	73	110	59	-4.5	-10.8	-20.9	+108.7	+12.6
Hills	679,020	6,215	6,700	6,843	9,083	7,135	-0.6	+17.6	+27.0	+3.8	+53.8
CHRISTIAN.											
ASSAM	132,106	165	91	59	31	14	+98.5	+85.1	+113.5	+137.2	+1,769.6
Brahmaputra Valley ...	38,723	100	68	48	28	11	+82.0	+69.8	+83.7	+116.8	+1,131.3
Surma Valley	3,356	11	9	6	6	6	+28.0	+54.6	+17.1	+26.0	+194.2
Hills	90,017	624	423	256	170	45	+111.0	+96.2	+153.6	+205.1	+3,102.3
BUDDHIST.											
ASSAM	13,520	17	15	15	14	13	+28.6	+18.0	+15.8	+17.2	+105.9
Brahmaputra Valley ...	12,075	31	31	30	28	29	+23.3	+23.3	+14.5	+7.9	+88.0
Surma Valley	50	...	...	...	...	...	+13.6	+109.5	+110.0	...	...
Hills	1,395	13	7	11	15	2	+103.8	-29.6	+26.0	+434.8	+889.4
OTHERS.											
ASSAM	5,461	7	5	4	3	1	+47.5	+36.4	+63.2	+324.4	+1,464.8
Brahmaputra Valley ...	4,031	10	9	8	5	1	+30.5	+40.6	+58.3	+420.4	+1,480.8
Surma Valley	523	2	1	1	...	...	+153.8	-19.1	+107.3	+59.0	+577.0
Hills	902	8	7	4	1	...	+67.0	+52.1	+1083.3	+57.5	+5,637.3

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Christians, number and variations.

District and Natural Divisions.	Actual number of Christians in					Variation per cent.				
	1921.	1911.	1901.	1901.	1891.	1911-1921.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1861-1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	132 106	66 562	35 069	10 811	7,109	+98.5	+85.1	+113.5	+137.2	+1,760.6
BRAHMPUTRA VALLEY	38 723	21 272	12 526	6 817	3 145	+82.0	+69.8	+83.7	+110.8	+1,131.3
Goalpara	13 312	5 252	3,406	1,672	813	+94.2	+50.8	+118.2	+218.1	+1,010.1
Kamrup	7 621	2,135	1,473	915	366	+141.1	+71.4	+56.0	+129.0	+1,009.3
Jorhat	4,714	1,913	1,358	810	371	+178.0	+44.9	+67.0	+125.8	+1,333.4
Nagaon	2,925	1,313	579	412	251	+113.0	+121.5	+42.2	+64.2	+1,051.6
Silchar	4,500	2,420	2,383	1,523	691	+29.2	+117.1	+82.3	+67.8	+912.3
Lakhimpur	2,731	4,180	2,112	1,662	537	+461.4	+45.9	+53.5	+94.0	+823.7
Falga	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Palghat	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	3 266	2,623	1,701	1 452	1,144	+23.0	+54.6	+17.1	+26.9	+194.2
Cachar Plateau	1,610	1,117	807	509	265	+44.1	+16.7	+14.3	+5.8	+110.3
Sylhet	1,656	1,506	794	613	379	+10.1	+103.2	+15.7	+67.7	+363.3
HILLS	96 617	42 661	21,742	8 575	2 811	+111.0	+96.2	+153.6	+205.1	+3,102.3
Garohills	2,608	3,450	2,607	1,184	520	+24.2	+47.1	+25.0	+76.7	+1,035.5
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	41,172	21,257	12,231	2,161	2,107	+31.6	+80.5	+142.0	+239.1	+1,531.7
Jaintia Hills	285	61	53	1	2	+1,123.4	+22.0	+5,200.0	+27.0	...
Naga Hills	6,231	2,508	601	231	25	+10	+45.4	+100.2	+521.0	...
Lushai Hills	27,220	2,451	42	12	...	+1,050.1	+5,374.9	+200.0	...	...
Mizoram	4,050	122	45	...	7	+2,074.2	+103.3	...	...	...

Note.—In the calculations for the province and for natural divisions those areas for which figures are not available have been left out of account.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Religions of urban and rural population.

Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of urban population who are					Number per 10,000 of rural population who are				
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Animist.	Christian.	Others.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Animist.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM	7,610	1,721	376	212	81	5 388	2,814	1,612	164	22
I. Brahmputra Valley.	7,540	2,116	92	125	127	6,850	1,803	1,600	99	39
II. Surma Valley	6,071	3,863	23	95	49	4,641	5,296	40	10	1
III. Hills	8,474	227	825	361	47	2,053	274	6,755	870	18

becomes very elaborate and unreliable, at any rate for five-year age periods. A graph of age distribution prepared on the crude annual age periods has the appearance of the temperature chart of a malignant-malaria patient, and is useless for practical purposes. It has been pointed out also that smoothing tends to obscure real differences, as well as the artificial ones; the Census Commissioner has therefore expressed a preference for the use of crude figures rather than adjusted ones in certain calculations from the tables, notably that of the mean age of the population. I have therefore refrained from representing the annual age figures by any diagram and have used the crude census figures by 5-year or other periods for analysis of the age distribution.

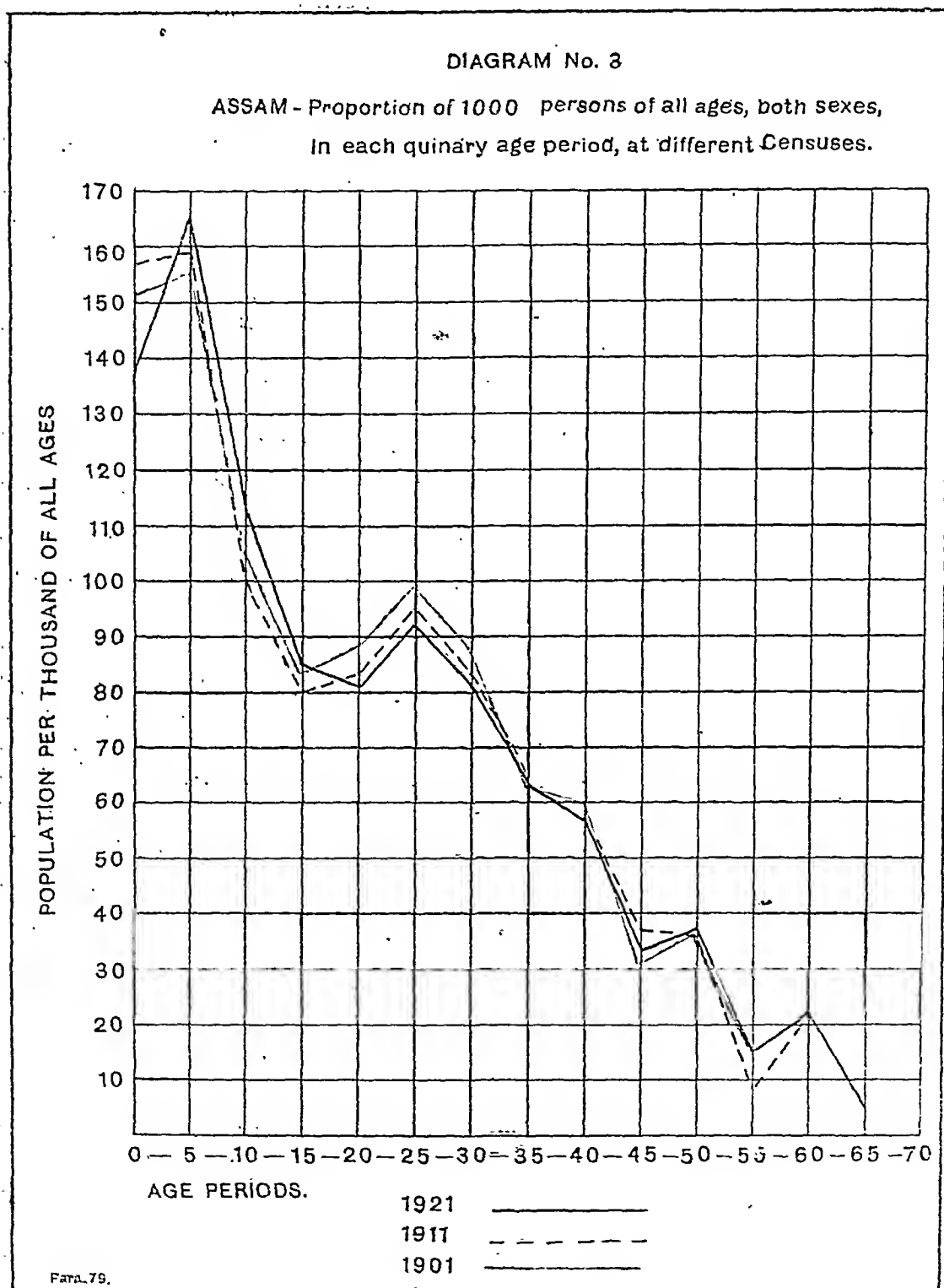
Inaccuracies from under-statement will be found to occur in the ages of unmarried girls when they are near or over the age of puberty, and also for elderly bachelors and widowers. Overestimates of age are made usually by old people, either from ignorance or from pride in being very old; but as the absolute number of old persons is not great, these have little effect on the statistics compared with the effects of the other causes noted above. An example of deliberate misstatement is found in the fact that the number of females aged 25-30 in the whole population of 1921 is 9 per cent: greater than the number in the group 15-20 ten years before; this result can hardly be due to immigration only and most likely arises from under-estimates by females above 30 in 1921 and by unmarried girls above 15 in 1911. Another factor, though not an inaccuracy, which has a disturbing effect on the statistics is migration. This is discussed in the next paragraph.

77. In Chapter III I have shown that there are three great streams of immigration. Of these, the Nepalis have a number of females only about half the number of males, and their children must be proportionately less also; their effect on both age and sex distribution is therefore to raise the numbers at the prime of life, especially among males, considerably. No special age table could be prepared for them; their number, however, is far less than that of the other two classes of immigrants. For the Eastern Bengal settlers in the Assam Valley Provincial Table IV shows three main age-periods. These bring their women and children, but not in the same proportion as that of the general population. Their children under 15 are about two-thirds of those aged 15-40, while for the whole population children number rather more than the 15-40 adults. The proportion of those above 40 to those of 15-40 is about the same for these immigrants as for the whole of Assam. The result is that we get the numbers in all age periods above 15 raised for the whole population by this influx of colonists.

For the third and greatest source of immigration, that to the tea gardens, I have had a special table prepared (Provincial Table VI). This table shows ages for Sibsagar tea garden population only: Sibsagar being a typical tea district we may fairly use the figures to make proportional estimates for the whole province, as the total tea population is known, by sex though not by age, from the other special provincial tables. In 1911, Mr. McSwiney separated the tea garden figures for Sibsagar and discussed to some extent their effect on the general age distribution; no table was printed, but this year's figures agree more or less with the results then found for tea garden ages. The following statement shows the tea population in age groups for the whole province on the Sibsagar basis, the three large age groups for the Eastern Bengal settlers in the Brahmaputra Valley, the recorded provincial age distribution and its corrected appearance when allowance is made for the two classes of immigrants.

Age distribution of 10,000 of both sexes, 1921.					
1	2	3	4	5	6
Age.	Assam, tea gardens only.	Whole of Assam, as recorded.	Assam, with tea gardens eliminated.	East Bengal immigrants.	Assam with tea and Eastern Bengal immigrants both eliminated.
0-5 ...	1,192	1,379	1,493	3,137	4,247
5-10 ...	1,473	1,647	1,669		
10-15 ...	1,130	1,133	1,131		
15-20 ...	648	849	875	4,801	3,923
20-40 ...	3,843	3,172	3,080		
40-60 ...	1,522	1,421	1,407	2,062	1,830
60 and over ...	162	399	432		
	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000

From 40 to 50 the 1921 figures again prevail slightly over the 1911 ones for both sexes; while after 50 the male proportion of the present census is generally greater in all periods, and the female generally less, than that of the last. The figures are represented graphically in diagram No. 3, which shows the age-distribution line for the last three censuses for the whole population of both sexes.



The black line of 1921 starts far below the 1911 dotted line, then goes above it at about five and remains so till about age 20, after which it stays below or near it till 50, when it again assumes a higher position.

This variation in the distribution exactly illustrates the bad conditions in the latter half of the decade, and especially the influenza epidemic. The fall in proportion at the middle period of life corresponds with what we have been led to expect, that influenza was more fatal to persons in the prime of life. The low

of old males has risen in all three divisions and has helped to raise further the male mean age; the proportion of old females has risen only in the Hills and has fallen considerably in the two Valley divisions, thus keeping down the female mean age for the province.

The rise in the number of both sexes at the periods 5-10, 10-15 and 15-20 has also helped in keeping down the mean age for both sexes.

In the mean ages exhibited by religion (Subsidiary Table III) the same slight variations appear for the sexes. In no case are the differences serious enough to excite alarm about any section of the population. The mean age of Muhammadans for both sexes has always been considerably lower than that for Hindus and Animists, while that of Animists is somewhat less than the Hindus. The differences are probably due in part to the large number of Hindus at ages above the mean employed on tea gardens; but the proportion of children under 5 is from one to two per cent. greater for Muhammadans and this, with the lower Muhammadan mean age, may be accounted for by earlier marriages and the freedom of widow remarriage allowed to Muslims; it is exemplified by the very small Hindu rate of increase in the Surma Valley compared with that of Muhammadans.

81. Subsidiary Tables IV and IV-A give age distributions and proportions in certain castes. The castes indigenous to the Brahmaputra Valley show a greater proportion of children than those of the Surma Valley or those spread over the whole province. In 1911 it was suggested that the people of the Brahmaputra Valley might be more prolific but also more short-lived than others. The figures this year support the theory, and the fact of children aged 5-12 being more numerous in the Brahmaputra Valley castes than in other castes shows that it is not only the greater drop in the birth-rate of the Surma Valley in the latter part of the decade which has produced the result; nevertheless we must still attribute greater error in age entry to the Brahmaputra Valley enumerators than to those of the Surma Valley.

82. In Chapter I, paragraph 23, I have commented on the untrustworthiness of the statistics of births and deaths as registered in Assam; such as they are, they are incomplete and can hardly be made use of in connection with the age statistics. For instance, death-rates by religion are available, but not birth-rates; again, some parts of the plains and most of the hills are not subject to registration. Although age figures have been submitted for actuarial analysis at the present census, the actuary's report is not yet available; nor did he deal separately with Assam at the last census.

Absolute calculations based on the statistics are therefore of little value. In 1891 Mr. Gait estimated the provincial birth-rate at 49.3 per mille, and Mr. McSwiney in 1911 by a different method arrived at 49.2. In both cases, however, very bold assumptions were made, and the estimate seems too high, although nearer the truth than the rate shown by the tables of vital statistics. The average recorded birth-rate for ten years in the province (given separately for males and females in Subsidiary Table VII) is 32.5 and the average death-rate (Subsidiary Table IX) is 31.5. The difference of 1.0 per mille per annum between these figures is far from the 8.3 required to give us the increase disclosed by the census in the natural population of the province. The discrepancy is due to the disturbing effect of immigration as well as to great inaccuracy in the registration of vital occurrences. In areas tested by officials of the Sanitary Department omissions varying from 2 to 10 per cent. in different areas have been detected, but it seems certain that there must be more errors than this. Omissions of births are more common than those of deaths, however, and I have suggested in Appendix A at the end of this report how the figures may be to some extent reconciled. While the actuary's report is still awaited, it is useless for the layman to attempt any new estimate of standard birth and death-rates for Assam, based on age statistics alone; as I have pointed out in the Appendix, deaths of those not born in the province disturb the statistics enormously. For the present it seems best to accept the estimated birth-rate of 45, stated by the Chief Commissioner in 1903, as a standard; this would make the average death-rate between 35 and 37.

83. Subsidiary Tables V and V-A contain materials for estimating the present capabilities of the people to increase in comparison with their position in 1901 and 1911. The proportion of children under 10 per 100 persons has decreased in the province and in each natural division since the last census, but is still higher than in 1901 save in the Surma Valley.

In eight out of the eleven years shown in the following table, the Surma Valley has suffered more than the Brahmaputra Valley from mortality among infants :—

Mortality per mille, infants under one year, calculated on number of births in the year.

Year.					Assam.	Brahmaputra Valley.	Surma Valley.
1					2	3	4
1911	...	...	...	...	176.8	179.2	174.8
1912	...	...	...	...	196.6	193.4	200.0
1913	...	...	...	...	201.2	189.1	214.2
1914	...	...	...	...	189.5	191.8	187.0
1915	...	...	...	...	201.9	187.0	217.5
1916	...	...	...	...	202.0	197.0	207.8
1917	...	...	...	...	189.3	182.3	197.9
1918	..	...	...	...	216.9	223.6	209.7
1919	...	...	...	...	239.8	218.4	265.1
1920	...	...	...	...	187.6	187.5	187.7
1921	...	...	...	...	187.3	184.4	190.0

These figures illustrate again how the economic and climatic troubles of the decade have fallen generally more heavily on the Surma Valley, while the influenza epidemic was less fatal to the infants there in 1918 than in the Brahmaputra Valley. The very high Surma Valley rate for 1919 reflects the later prevalence of influenza followed by malaria, and general scarcity caused by floods. The figures for 1920 and 1921, however, give hope of better times, the infant mortality being lower than it has been since 1911 for the province.

It has been suggested that a high rate of infantile mortality such as we have in India is selective and results in a lower mortality in later life; on the other hand, it has been held that the same conditions that give rise to a high infant mortality influence the mortality in later life and that there is no evidence of any selective value. For proper investigation of this point we should compare statistics of age and mortality of different localities and periods uninfluenced by any greatly abnormal disturbing factor such as influenza and immigration. Unfortunately we have no such clear statistics. I can find no evidence in Assam of correlation between the variations of infant mortality and later mortality. Subsidiary Table IX gives recorded death-rates for the usual age groups by average for the decade, and in certain years of high and low mortality. It will be seen that as the rate for children aged 0-5 rises and falls, so do the rates at the other ages, old people included; apparently in rural communities with no overcrowding, infantile diseases have not the same relative effect that they have in great towns, and those diseases which fall on young and old alike are the chief factors. The different mortality rates of the sexes will be noticed in the next chapter. Here it may be noticed as matter for congratulation that the death-rate for children aged 0-5 has fallen considerably since the last census from 79 to 76 for males and from 72 to 65 per mille in the case of females. For all other age periods, except at 15-20, the rate has increased. This was to be expected as a consequence of the influenza epidemic.

For those aged 15-20 the male rate remains the same, 17, and the female rate has decreased from 22 to 21 per mille. The decrease in the birth-rate, noticeable especially in the Surma Valley, and the decrease in the number of young children, appear to be only temporary.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Age distribution of 100,000 of each sex by annual age periods.

Age.	Male.			Female.			Age.	Male.			Female.		
	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.		Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.	Hindu.	Musalman.	Both religions.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TOTAL	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000							
0	2,806	2,758	2,688	2,765	2,843	2,790	61	149	61	124	157	43	115
1	1,500	1,415	1,604	2,013	1,447	1,852	62	551	558	466	555	204	455
2	2,502	2,615	2,500	2,895	3,104	3,026	63	151	72	132	117	48	97
3	3,102	3,100	3,102	3,376	2,615	3,442	64	210	72	160	168	66	153
4	3,030	3,240	3,033	2,547	3,640	3,144	65	906	805	938	807	577	743
5	3,773	4,010	3,522	3,556	4,260	3,776	66	317	168	292	246	79	180
6	3,771	3,748	3,525	3,017	4,121	3,331	67	193	100	165	184	50	145
7	3,170	3,372	3,250	3,404	4,025	3,681	68	455	215	407	444	191	366
8	4,175	3,005	4,403	4,131	4,935	4,358	69	140	48	113	140	30	111
9	1,902	2,576	2,458	2,277	2,200	2,352	70	2,232	2,120	2,212	2,554	2,034	2,435
10	4,020	2,491	4,350	3,162	4,557	3,511	71	50	37	67	75	32	63
11	1,328	1,597	1,510	1,656	1,358	1,512	72	216	122	158	310	113	254
12	4,211	5,010	4,444	2,656	3,557	2,594	73	78	24	62	58	16	46
13	1,123	870	1,101	1,190	812	1,004	74	51	23	67	62	11	63
14	2,016	2,178	2,064	1,564	1,753	1,616	75	385	356	442	366	204	321
15	1,051	2,107	1,585	1,683	1,604	1,717	76	27	24	45	76	21	60
16	2,670	2,372	2,170	1,441	2,431	2,085	77	103	24	62	146	30	113
17	550	720	535	1,037	769	606	78	124	43	101	177	43	137
18	2,358	2,510	2,387	2,612	2,058	2,647	79	45	13	50	37	5	28
19	729	431	643	620	600	767	80	741	707	738	730	512	667
20	2,713	3,240	2,662	3,924	2,641	4,292	81	21	2	15	7	2	6
21	690	332	668	637	518	615	82	79	26	63	51	16	63
22	1,540	1,540	1,571	1,650	2,165	1,662	83	13	6	11	3	...	2
23	725	400	600	660	532	787	84	16	4	12	5	5	8
24	790	610	735	630	663	780	85	205	143	157	116	93	100
25	2,314	2,675	2,507	4,356	6,756	4,702	86	15	2	13	60	9	71
26	555	700	650	1,170	907	1,007	87	19	2	14	12	2	9
27	1,116	661	1,041	1,250	650	1,009	88	67	15	45	29	7	23
28	1,783	1,575	1,704	1,733	1,525	1,674	89	30	4	22	10	7	12
29	568	324	550	637	334	605	90	561	419	577	404	302	440
30	4,116	4,600	4,333	2,940	3,571	3,430	91	5	...	4	2	...	1
31	316	100	263	625	166	459	92	20	11	18	23	5	17
32	1,640	1,550	1,605	1,845	1,019	1,152	93	2	2	2	6	...	5
33	412	522	376	478	191	508	94	7	...	5	5	2	4
34	604	321	551	676	216	531	95	30	40	39	25	25	26
35	3,047	3,573	3,250	2,702	3,167	2,938	96	1	...	1	3	...	2
36	800	606	775	613	423	560	97	3	2	3	5	2	4
37	533	469	466	392	235	345	98	12	2	9	3	5	3
38	1,338	570	1,201	1,634	604	913	99	7	2	5	2	5	3
39	475	245	410	357	170	320	100	48	60	57	57	45	54
40	4,424	4,434	4,428	3,008	4,368	4,102	101	5	...	4	...	...	...
41	210	128	166	225	67	228	102	1	2	1	...	2	1
42	785	523	705	708	370	614	103	...	...	...	...	...	...
43	241	67	106	357	91	251	104	4	...	3	1	2	1
44	258	141	224	183	120	160	105	7	9	6	5	7	6
45	2,225	2,245	2,231	1,741	1,551	1,697	106	3	...	2	...	2	1
46	264	150	227	250	91	212	107	3	4	4	2	...	1
47	333	171	256	248	91	208	108	1	2	1	2	2	2
48	862	486	762	703	367	606	109	...	...	...	3	5	3
49	200	100	170	203	59	163	100 and over.	30	54	37	31	25	32
50	3,640	3,314	3,653	3,341	2,951	3,531							

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV-A.

Proportion of children under 12 and of persons over 40 to those aged 15—40 in certain castes; also of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females.

Castes.	Proportion of children, both sexes, per 100		Proportion of persons over 40 per 100 aged 15—40.		Number of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages
	Persons aged 15—40.	Married females aged 15—40.	Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Ahom	97	278	46	39	29
Baidya	93	247	51	42	32
Barui	70	193	53	49	32
Bhuinmali	65	155	65	52	35
Brahman	79	221	52	45	32
Chutiya (Hindu)	100	283	51	45	27
Dhoba	67	193	56	46	31
Gozla	61	179	52	40	36
Kachari (Hindu)	108	280	52	42	29
Kachari (Animist)	109	264	50	40	31
Kalita	99	271	56	48	29
Kamar	82	203	49	34	35
Kayastha	74	213	51	47	31
Kewat	98	260	55	44	30
Koch	100	271	52	45	29
Kumhar	79	229	56	53	29
Mahishya	79	235	49	43	30
Mali	56	175	52	46	34
Malo	53	178	40	32	33
Manipuri (Kshattriya)	88	240	50	53	28
Mikir	102	284	58	45	28
Nadiyal	98	268	50	39	30
Namasudra	67	184	50	42	34
Napit	77	209	53	48	31
Patni	66	194	50	44	31
Rajbansi	86	238	52	43	31
Sudra	76	218	48	52	30
Sutradhar	75	216	46	43	31
Tanti	66	165	43	31	38
Teli	71	195	54	50	32
Yogi	84	229	50	47	31

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Variation in population at certain age periods.

Period.	Variation per cent. in population. (Increase + decrease = +)							Period and Frontier Tracts.	Period.	Variation per cent. in population. (Increase + decrease = +)						
	all ages	0-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35			all ages	0-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1871-1901	- 2.0	+ 2.1	+ 8.7	+ 10.1	- 2.6	- 11.2			1891-1901	+ 5.3	+ 1.6	+ 6.1	+ 9.7	+ 6.5	- 10.3	
1901-1911	- 17.2	+ 19.4	+ 9.8	+ 12.6	+ 16.4	+ 18.4		1901-1911	+ 10.8	+ 12.4	- 0.0	+ 9.6	+ 14.0	+ 10.2		
1911-1921	+ 10.0	+ 8.1	+ 24.4	+ 12.2	+ 12.4	+ 11.2		1911-1921	+ 2.6	- 2.4	+ 22.0	+ 2.3	+ 6.7	+ 1.1		
1871-1901	+ 5.4	+ 2.4	+ 2.0	+ 10.0	+ 2.0	- 12.1		1891-1901	+ 12.0	+ 2.2	+ 27.0	+ 16.2	+ 10.4	+ 6.2		
1901-1901	+ 16.7	+ 21.9	+ 10.1	+ 11.7	+ 17.0	+ 24.0		1901-1911	+ 11.1	+ 27.0	- 1.4	+ 9.7	+ 16.8	+ 12.0		
1911-1921	+ 24.0	+ 20.1	+ 14.0	+ 21.1	+ 42.0	+ 18.7		1911-1921	+ 6.4	+ 2.2	+ 2.0	+ 2.2	+ 10.2	+ 15.3		
1871-1901	+ 1.0	+ 1.7	+ 1.0	+ 1.7	+ 1.0	- 11.4		1901-1911	+ 4.7	+ 0.4	+ 2.0	+ 8.8	+ 3.0	- 12.4		
1901-1911	+ 19.1	+ 1.0	+ 18.1	+ 19.7	+ 11.1	+ 10.6		1901-1911	+ 2.1	+ 11.4	- 0.7	+ 9.2	+ 18.1	+ 7.9		
1911-1921	+ 27.0	+ 21.1	+ 1.7	+ 11.6	+ 11.7	+ 11.1		1911-1921	+ 17.7	- 2.2	+ 24.1	+ 1.2	+ 6.1	- 0.0		
1871-1901	- 1.1	+ 1.0	- 1.1	- 4.9	- 1.0	- 11.1		1901-1911	+ 11.7	+ 4.1	+ 17.7	+ 17.7	- 19.1	- 4.7		
1901-1911	+ 21.1	+ 10.0	+ 1.7	+ 11.1	+ 11.2	+ 11.4		1901-1911	+ 19.1	+ 12.0	+ 27.1	+ 12.0	+ 14.0	+ 20.3		
1911-1921	+ 24.0	+ 1.0	+ 11.0	+ 11.0	+ 10.1	+ 12.4		1911-1921	+ 8.1	+ 2.1	+ 10.1	- 2.7	+ 6.1	+ 14.0		
1871-1901	+ 1.7	+ 6.1	+ 2.0	+ 10.1	+ 1.1	- 11.0		1901-1911	+ 11.1	+ 11.1	- 1.1	+ 16.1	+ 17.1	+ 11.7		
1901-1911	+ 11.0	+ 11.0	+ 11.0	+ 11.0	+ 11.0	+ 11.0		1911-1921	+ 1.1	- 1.0	+ 2.0	+ 1.2	- 1.1	- 11.7		
1911-1921	+ 17.0	+ 14.1	+ 11.0	+ 11.1	+ 11.4	+ 11.0		1901-1911	+ 17.1	+ 27.1	+ 0.0	+ 1.1	+ 17.1	+ 43.1		
1871-1901	- 24.0	+ 19.1	- 24.0	- 19.1	- 1.1	- 4.7		1901-1911	+ 2.0	- 0.1	+ 2.0	+ 2.1	+ 1.1	- 11.0		
1901-1911	+ 10.1	+ 10.1	+ 1.1	+ 10.1	+ 11.1	+ 11.0		1911-1921	+ 6.1	+ 21.0	+ 15.1	+ 16.1	+ 17.0	+ 3.1		
1911-1921	+ 11.0	+ 1.0	+ 12.1	+ 11.0	+ 1.1	+ 1.0		1901-1911	+ 11.1	+ 16.1	- 1.1	+ 10.1	- 10.1	+ 0.1		
1871-1901	+ 14.0	+ 12.0	+ 11.1	+ 12.4	+ 11.0	+ 11.7		1911-1921	- 1.0	- 0.2	+ 0.5	- 2.0	+ 2.1	+ 6.4		
1901-1911	+ 11.0	+ 11.1	+ 1.4	+ 10.1	+ 12.0	+ 14.0		1901-1911	+ 5.1	- 2.0	+ 5.7	+ 3.0	+ 12.7	+ 16.3		
1911-1921	+ 10.1	+ 17.0	+ 11.0	+ 16.0	+ 17.0	+ 15.0		1901-1911	+ 40.1	+ 10.7	+ 78.0	+ 21.8	+ 47.0	+ 0.1		
1871-1901	+ 11.1	+ 12.7	+ 11.0	+ 18.2	+ 19.3	+ 41.1		1911-1921	+ 6.0	- 2.0	+ 16.1	+ 3.0	+ 7.0	+ 10.8		
1901-1911	+ 11.7	+ 12.8	+ 12.8	+ 13.7	+ 2.0	- 4.0		1901-1911	+ 8.1	...	...	...	...	...
1911-1921	+ 11.1	+ 11.1	+ 41.1	+ 16.1	+ 40.0	+ 19.0		1901-1911	+ 10.1	+ 3.0	+ 27.0	+ 8.6	+ 14.7	+ 18.0		
								1911-1921	+ 7.0	+ 4.0	+ 15.7	+ 8.6	+ 3.7	+ 15.8		
								1871-1901	...	...	...	...	...	...
								1901-1911	+ 21.7	+ 28.0	+ 43.3	+ 18.1	+ 11.8	+ 4.8		
								1911-1921	+ 10.0	+ 2.1	+ 16.0	+ 16.1	+ 9.3	+ 21.0		

Note.—Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts have been omitted, as figures for the previous censuses are not available.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.

Reported deaths from certain diseases per mille of each sex.

Age.	Whole Province.					Actual number of deaths in			
	Actual number of deaths.			Ratio per mille of each sex.		Brahmaputra Valley.		Surma Valley.	
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Cholera—									
1911	7,475	3,952	3,523	1·2	1·2	868	837	3,081	2,686
1912	14,303	7,356	6,947	2·3	2·3	4,822	4,807	2,534	2,140
1913	16,407	8,624	7,783	2·7	2·8	2,814	2,628	5,810	5,155
1914	9,270	4,884	4,386	1·6	1·5	3,575	3,345	1,309	1,041
1915	26,979	14,194	12,785	4·5	4·4	6,717	6,287	7,477	6,498
1916	13,099	6,822	6,277	2·2	2·2	5,347	5,085	1,475	1,192
1917	10,953	5,580	5,373	1·8	1·8	4,590	4,608	990	765
1918	14,077	7,460	6,617	2·4	2·3	1,768	1,599	5,692	5,018
1919	33,980	17,854	16,126	5·7	5·5	7,912	8,099	9,942	8,027
1920	2,421	1,348	1,073	·4	·4	521	413	827	660
Smallpox—									
1911	1,779	886	893	·2	·3	693	734	192	159
1912	4,696	2,536	2,160	·8	·7	1,142	1,087	1,394	1,073
1913	2,794	1,526	1,268	·5	·4	907	716	619	552
1914	2,575	1,497	1,168	·5	·4	1,229	986	178	182
1915	4,076	2,256	1,820	·7	·6	2,152	1,750	104	70
1916	3,321	1,786	1,535	·6	·5	1,277	1,107	509	423
1917	4,116	2,311	1,805	·7	·6	1,001	768	1,310	1,037
1918	2,447	1,338	1,109	·4	·4	1,039	909	299	209
1919	1,432	772	660	·2	·2	528	484	244	176
1920	1,700	1,014	686	·3	·2	325	216	659	470
Fever—									
1911	80,804	42,024	38,780	1·3	1·3	25,196	23,865	19,822	14,915
1912	78,318	41,501	36,814	13·2	12·6	25,754	23,615	25,750	23,190
1913	87,359	46,451	40,908	14·8	14·1	27,026	22,850	24,027	19,218
1914	83,199	44,339	38,860	14·1	13·3	23,214	21,757	24,225	21,702
1915	91,739	48,715	43,024	15·5	14·8	28,222	24,237	30,687	23,270
1916	96,963	51,814	45,149	16·5	15·5	30,111	27,122	27,550	23,557
1917	95,518	51,008	44,510	16·2	15·3	28,755	26,251	27,191	23,157
1918	158,892	84,397	74,495	26·9	25·6	45,021	40,000	42,100	37,000
1919	154,435	82,455	71,980	26·3	24·7	44,755	40,000	42,100	37,000
1920	112,437	61,877	50,560	19·7	18·1	33,111	29,716	30,000	26,000

ASSAM—SEX PROPORTIONS.

..... MAP No. 16

(NATURAL INCREASE.)

..... INCES

..... 1000 males

900-950

950-975

1015-1050

1050-1100

Over 1150

Females in Excess

89. In the three main religions shown in Subsidiary Table II the proportions follow generally the territorial figures of the divisions where the religions predominate : excess of females among Animists, as in the Hills Division, defect of females among Hindus and Muhammadans slightly more pronounced for Hindus, as the defect is more in the Brahmaputra Valley than in the Surma Valley total actual population. The caste and tribal proportions set out in Subsidiary Table IV show that the Animists and recent converts to Hinduism in the plains generally conform to Hindu proportions, having their females in defect (*e.g.*, Kachari and Meeh tribes). The races of the hills are clearly marked by their high proportions of females (*e.g.*, Khasi, Lushai, Kuki). The Kshatriyas with 1,031 females to 1,000 males represent chiefly Manipuri Hindus, whose customs with regard to women are not greatly different from those of Animists. For the ordinary Hindu castes in Subsidiary Table IV it is scarcely safe to attempt any conclusions; in the last report it was shown that there was a general tendency, with exceptions here and there, for the lower castes to show a greater proportion of females than for the higher castes. Although this tendency may be detected again by diligent search, the number of exceptions has grown, probably owing to the numerous caste movements for social betterment found at the time of the census. For instance, Nadiyals now have fewer females in proportion than have Kalitas; Namasudras fewer than Sudras; Goalas and Malos fewer than Brahmans. The Bhuimalis and Borias show excesses of females. Great numbers of these, however, returned themselves as Malis and Suts, respectively; and both of these castes have males in excess.

Sex ratio at birth.

Country;	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.
ASSAM (1911-20)	937
<i>Brahmaputra Valley</i>	944
<i>Surma Valley</i>	929
Bengal	933
Burma	945
C. P. and Berar	955
N. W. F. Province	805
England and Wales (pre-war)... ..	962

not mainly, affected by the relative ages of the parents, masculinity being greater where the father is older than the mother and less when the reverse is the case. Subsequent investigations in wider fields have discredited this theory. Recently de Jastrzebski has examined* a large number of recorded figures for different countries and peoples in the world and has arrived at certain conclusions, of which the

* *The Sex Ratio at birth* by S. de Jastrzebski.

Among Lushais males keep the lead up to 20 years of age, after which females predominate for the rest of life. Khasi women are less than men only from ages 12 to 15 and Manipuri Kshattriyas only from 12 to 20.

92. The following six factors have been suggested as the chief in causing the low proportion of women to men in the population of India. These were discussed at length at last census*; it is only necessary here to consider which of them affect this province or are connected with the social and caste movements which have lately begun to affect the lives of women in classes previously untouched:—

The factors are (a) infanticide,

(b) neglect of female children,

(c) evil effects of early marriage and premature child-bearing,

(d) high birth rate and primitive methods of midwifery,

(e) hard treatment accorded to women, especially widows, and

(f) hard work done by women.

The first factor can be ruled out at once: infants are only known to be killed in certain cases where they are the offspring of illicit unions, and in such cases no discrimination against female infants has been noticed. The second was considered in 1911 to be a contributory cause by way rather of passive than active neglect, in that parents, especially among Hindus, are ready to lavish every care in the way of nourishment or medical attention on a boy in times of scarcity or sickness, whereas a girl has to take what she can get as her life is not deemed so valuable as a boy's. It may be that this occurs in some cases, but neglect of female children must be largely discounted by the practice of the bride-price which obtains among many castes and tribes in Assam. Further, our figures do not show it to be an important factor; soon after birth and up to the age of 5 years, females are in excess everywhere. From 5 to 10 the figures for Animists or for the Hills, where there is an excess of females in the total population, show a less proportion of females than do the other religions of the Surma Valley, and even from 10 to 15 the Hills still have the ratio in defect, though the defect in the other divisions is much more marked. Among several tribes where the practice of the bride-price prevails and we might expect great care to be taken of girls, we notice a deficit of female children between 5 and 12. For instance, Lushais have only 946 and Kewats only 961 females aged 5-12 to 1,000 males of the same ages; while among Kayasthas and Baidyas, with the dowry system, the proportions at the same ages are 994 and 1,056, respectively. I do not think, therefore, that this factor is at all comparable with (c) and (d), early marriage, premature and excessive child-bearing and primitive midwifery. The figures for religions in Subsidiary Table II show a large drop in the sex-proportions for Hindus and a larger drop still for Muhammadans in the period 10-15. The drop in proportion is noticeable for each religion compared with the figures for ages 5-10, and it is also apparent on a comparison with the Animists, who have 944 females living to 1,000 males at 10-15 where Hindus have 811 and Muhammadans only 741. This great difference cannot all be attributed to inaccuracy, since girls over 15 are generally likely to be returned as under 15, if unmarried, among Hindus and Muhammadans. Among Animists the proportion of married or widowed girls under 15 to the whole number of females is only 1·07 per cent.; for Hindus the percentage is 3·0 and for Muhammadans 4·04. Thus greater deficit of females accompanies greater prevalence of early marriage, and our figures so far support the conclusion that early marriage is one of the main factors in the sex distribution.

Examining the figures for castes and tribes we find the same thing generally, but there are exceptions. The Garos, though a hill tribe, are exceptional in having a good many of their girls married before 15: the census figures show that the number of them is as much as 2·44 per cent. of the whole number of females. The Garo Hills stands alone among the hill districts as having a deficit of females in the natural population; this district therefore supports the argument as to influence of early marriage. On the other hand, some of the animistic and formerly animistic tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley show considerable shortage of females, although they do not practise early marriage; notably the Mikirs, Kacharis, Chutiyas, Meekhs, Rajhausis. In these cases other factors must be acting: I think that malaria probably has a considerable effect in reducing the proportion of females.

* Census of India, 1911, report, pages 216-219.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General proportions of the sexes by natural divisions and districts.

Districts and natural divisions.	Number of females to 1,000 males.									
	1821.		1811.		1801.		1891.		1881.	
	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM ...	926	951	940	963	949	966	942	969	953	966
BEA H M A P U T R A VALLEY.	892	937	913	952	924	963	923	957	931	954
Goalpara ...	875	917	886	955	904	953	912	973	947	969
Kamrup ...	920	948	968	964	1,012	978	976	966	947	962
Darrang ...	883	941	900	947	916	976	907	953	919	943
Nowgong ...	907	971	959	999	964	1,016	936	957	936	944
Sibsagar ...	897	906	892	916	886	925	902	939	903	932
Lakhimpur ...	875	919	883	914	863	915	863	935	867	956
*Sadiya ...	796	941	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
*Balipara ...	477	822	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
SURMA VALLEY ...	937	937	943	943	947	941	948	962	957	965
Cachar (including North Cachar).	912	943	910	959	866	972	898	974	860	979
Sylhet ...	912	935	919	946	965	937	957	961	969	963
HILLS ...	1,023	1,041	1,026	1,040	1,037	1,051	1,019	1,030	1,022	1,049
Garohills ...	959	975	956	973	974	993	986	1,075	958	979
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	1,031	1,064	1,014	1,097	1,050	1,113	1,092	1,119	1,104	1,129
Naga Hills ...	993	1,015	1,002	997	982	988	1,035	982	973	999
Lushai Hills ...	1,109	1,168	1,120	1,159	1,113	1,189	911	1,003	...	...
Manipur ...	1,041	1,088	1,029	1,023	1,037	1,054	969	761	1,018	889

N. B.—The figures given for natural population in 1891 and 1881 exclude the emigrants to other provinces; and those given for 1801 include extra-provincial emigrants to Bengal only.

* Figures of Sadiya and Balipara from 1881 to 1911 are included in Lakhimpur and Darrang districts, respectively.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Number of females per 1,000 males at different age periods by religion and natural division (census of 1921).

Age.	Brahmaputra Valley.				Surma Valley.				Hills.			
	All religions.	Hindu.	Mohammadan.	Animist.	All religions.	Hindu.	Mohammadan.	Animist.	All religions.	Hindu.	Mohammadan.	Animist.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0-1 ..	964	977	1,063	964	980	985	975	935	1,003	997	917	1,017
1-2 ..	1,020	1,013	1,016	1,045	1,019	1,031	1,003	1,002	1,021	971	997	1,012
2-3 ..	1,045	1,001	1,041	1,026	1,007	1,072	1,003	1,104	1,078	1,045	1,098	1,077
3-4 ..	1,072	1,001	1,115	1,001	1,070	1,077	1,050	1,113	1,023	1,015	910	1,005
4-5 ..	1,042	901	1,010	1,047	1,046	1,032	1,037	1,009	1,031	1,041	914	1,027
TOTAL 0-5 ..	1,020	1,016	1,052	1,009	1,044	1,041	1,046	1,056	1,036	1,012	970	1,046
6-10 ..	984	974	927	962	968	1,013	959	970	985	996	923	978
10-15 ..	914	920	723	901	765	780	746	974	945	945	619	948
15-20 ..	1,016	972	1,065	1,170	1,096	1,050	1,116	1,200	1,105	1,003	1,057	1,220
20-25 ..	1,153	1,093	1,126	1,202	1,122	1,183	1,207	1,400	1,115	909	968	1,290
25-30 ..	107	100	871	1,000	1,023	1,000	1,043	1,216	1,003	884	753	1,106
TOTAL 6-30 ..	970	963	910	1,008	1,000	991	1,003	1,091	1,044	977	925	1,078
31-40 ..	773	760	600	813	819	807	790	830	803	811	519	1,023
41-50 ..	687	602	612	705	706	771	717	850	915	915	674	1,008
51-60 ..	604	717	603	670	810	806	777	702	1,004	651	725	1,024
61-70 ..	510	517	704	810	690	601	612	844	1,000	1,151	815	670
TOTAL 31-70 ..	710	700	602	801	816	825	780	820	975	923	601	1,027
TOTAL 0-70 ..	911	900	912	900	907	908	908	1,001	1,020	901	890	1,000
TOTAL 0-100 ..	907	932	912	970	937	940	909	1,010	1,005	1,010	970	1,000

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex during the decades 1891—1900, 1901—1910 and 1910—1920.

YEAR.	NUMBER OF BIRTHS.			NUMBER OF DEATHS.			Difference between columns 2 and 3, excess of later over former (+) defect (—).	Difference between columns 5 and 6, excess of later over former (+) defect (—).	Difference between columns 4 and 7, excess of former over later (+) defect (—).	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1891	74,721	68,627	143,548	79,449	70,707	150,156	—5,804	—9,742	—6,608	921	890
1892	80,951	74,958	155,009	90,398	81,356	171,754	—5,993	—9,012	—15,875	926	900
1893	78,922	72,469	151,391	81,667	70,414	152,081	—6,453	—11,253	—690	918	862
1894	81,074	75,079	156,153	81,798	72,303	154,091	—5,995	—9,485	+2,062	926	884
1895	80,644	74,957	155,631	89,931	79,373	169,304	—5,657	—10,558	—13,673	930	883
1896	87,620	81,552	169,172	97,130	85,287	182,417	—6,063	—11,843	—13,245	931	878
1897	85,005	79,612	163,617	132,774	121,319	254,093	—6,393	—11,455	—90,476	925	914
1898	70,670	71,219	147,889	97,447	84,080	181,527	—5,451	—13,367	—33,638	929	863
1899	92,135	86,892	179,027	84,460	72,135	156,595	—5,243	—12,325	+22,432	943	854
1900	95,000	89,427	184,427	85,725	75,906	161,631	—5,573	—9,819	+22,796	941	855
Total 1891—1900	832,742	774,022	1,606,764	920,769	812,910	1,733,679	—58,720	—107,859	—126,915	929	883
1901	93,078	86,211	179,289	77,503	69,436	146,939	—6,867	—8,067	+32,350	926	890
1902	93,146	87,329	180,475	80,098	72,972	153,070	—5,817	—7,126	+27,405	938	911
1903	96,877	90,792	187,669	72,613	67,456	140,069	—6,055	—5,157	+47,600	937	920
1904	96,761	99,778	196,539	70,507	65,885	136,392	—5,623	—4,622	+51,147	938	934
1905	99,584	93,097	192,671	77,235	72,765	150,000	—6,497	—4,470	+42,671	935	942
1906	95,236	88,864	184,100	83,122	78,421	161,543	—6,372	—4,701	+22,557	933	943
1907	96,893	91,786	188,679	70,365	64,658	135,024	—5,207	—5,708	+53,755	946	919
1908	105,123	97,611	202,739	95,051	89,840	184,891	—7,517	—6,211	+16,548	928	935
1909	97,470	90,112	187,582	90,618	83,159	173,777	—7,358	—7,459	+13,895	925	918
1910	98,891	93,111	192,002	92,956	88,331	181,317	—6,480	—4,625	+11,385	935	950
Total Assam 1901—1910	978,864	909,681	1,888,545	811,099	752,923	1,564,022	—64,183	—58,176	+319,523	934	928
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	474,768	444,511	919,219	422,019	391,186	813,205	—30,197	—33,833	+106,014	936	927
SURMA VALLEY ...	499,156	465,170	964,326	389,080	361,737	750,817	—33,986	—27,343	+213,509	932	930
1911	99,872	93,688	193,560	73,733	69,182	142,915	—6,184	—4,551	+50,645	938	933
1912	100,689	94,007	194,696	79,657	71,909	151,566	—6,062	—7,743	+43,110	934	933
1913	103,423	96,652	200,075	89,106	79,273	167,379	—6,771	—8,533	+32,096	935	939
1914	103,321	96,022	199,343	78,973	70,271	149,244	—7,299	—8,702	+50,099	929	939
1915	105,026	98,310	203,336	98,147	88,631	186,778	—6,716	—9,516	+16,558	936	935
1916	98,691	89,048	187,739	91,927	81,111	173,038	—6,643	—10,516	+11,701	931	931
1917	97,668	92,073	189,741	86,956	76,939	163,895	—5,585	—10,017	+25,816	943	934
1918	108,730	102,987	211,717	145,993	133,041	279,034	—5,743	—12,952	—67,317	947	911
1919	95,287	89,451	184,738	159,538	142,205	301,743	—5,836	—16,543	—118,335	929	897
1920	98,370	92,465	190,835	95,797	79,695	175,492	—5,905	—16,191	+15,422	949	891
Total 1911—1920	1,008,057	944,703	1,952,760	999,157	893,258	1,892,415	—63,354	—105,899	+60,345	937	934
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	529,107	499,590	1,028,697	531,740	478,556	1,010,296	—29,517	—53,184	+18,401	944	906
SURMA VALLEY ...	478,950	445,113	924,063	467,417	414,702	882,119	—33,637	—52,715	+41,944	929	897

CHAPTER VII.

CIVIL CONDITION.

95. The census term civil condition means condition as to marriage. In 1911 much descriptive matter of interest in connection with marriage and birth customs found entry in this chapter.

Census statistics.

In the present report it is assumed that customs and institutions such as hypergamy, exogamy, polygyny and mother-kin are known^{*}; we are concerned only with alterations or tendencies of the last decade affecting the statistics. The absolute statistics of married, unmarried and widowed persons by sex, religion, age, locality and tribe or caste will be found in Imperial Tables VII and XIV. These are presented in proportionate relations in the five subsidiary tables at the end of the chapter.

The instructions to the enumerating staff provided that persons recognised by custom as married should be entered as married even though they had not gone through the full ceremony; the divorced were entered as widowed and widowed persons remarried were of course included with the married. The entry "married" denotes only the completion of the ceremony or custom; it does not necessarily mean that cohabitation has begun.

There are few customs in Assam which would interfere with the truth of the returns. Some unmarried prostitutes or kept women may have stated falsely that they were married but such cases are not likely to have been numerous. On the whole, it may be assumed that the census statistics are fairly accurate.

96. The universality of marriage in India is well known, and Assam forms no exception to the rule, although marriages here are later than in many other parts. Between the ages of 15 and 40 only 36·5 per cent. of males and 8·8 per cent. of females are unmarried, while among those who have passed 40, the proportions are 2·7 for men and 1 per cent. for women.

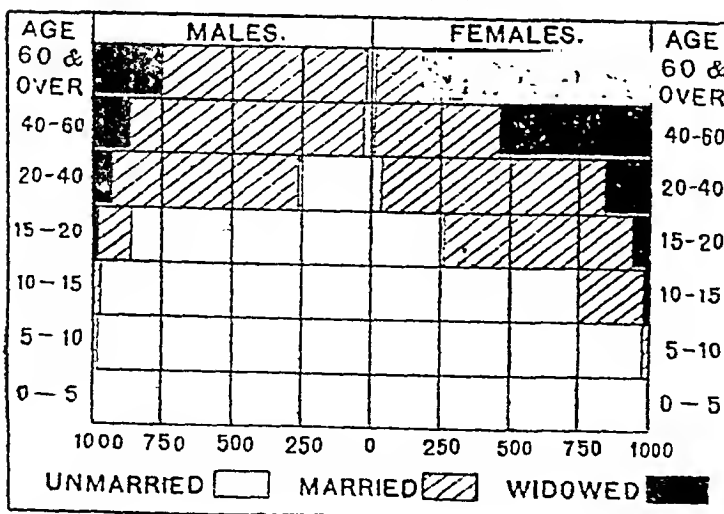
The percentages of unmarried for those between 15 and 40 are somewhat lower than the corresponding figures of 1911, especially in the case of females, but the result is due rather to the postponement of the marriage age than to any approach to the unnatural restraints on marriage placed by artificial social and economic conditions such as obtain in western countries. In England and Wales in 1911 13 per cent. of men and 30 per cent. of women aged 20 and over were unmarried; in Assam in 1921 the corresponding percentages are only 16 and 3 respectively.

Subsidiary Table I gives the exact proportions for each sex of the unmarried,

DIAGRAM NO. 5.

ASSAM, 1921

Proportion per mille who are
married at each age period.



Para-96

married and widowed at different ages in the province and diagram No. 5 shows graphically how few are left unmarried after the period of youth is passed.

As shown in Subsidiary Table II, the proportion of spinsters to females of all ages is 430 per thousand, while that for bachelors to the total of males is 557. A comparison of the numbers given in columns 2 and 6 of Subsidiary Table III with the corresponding figures of 1911 for the age group 0-10 shows that there has been a considerable fall in the proportion of children of these ages to the total population. As this group contains a great part of the un-

married population, especially females, we might have expected that this c

* For interesting notes see Assam Census Report, 1911, page 70 ff. and India Census Report, 19

The fall in proportion of widows occurs among those aged over 40, corresponding with a drop in the general proportion of women of that period. Widows aged 15-40 show no tendency to decrease; the percentage to the total number of females of those ages is now 15.4, against 13.3 in 1911.

The unequal raising of the marriage age causes the average age of married women to advance more than that of men; the result is a tendency for more husbands and fewer wives to survive their consorts than was the case before. Thus we should have an increase in the proportion of widowers and decrease in that of widows, reinforcing the effect of the changed age distribution; and our statistics are in accord with this. It is not possible to estimate the factors separately, but probably the greater effect on the statistics of widowhood is produced by the different age distribution of the people, brought about by influenza and economic causes. No change in custom as to widow marriage can be traced in the census statistics. The Muhammadan freedom of remarriage remains and is reflected in the comparative figures tabulated in the subsidiary tables. Among Hindus the tendency of the lower castes is rather to abolish than to increase the custom of widow marriage; and it is only a few of the boldest among the educated classes who venture to adopt it.

99. Subsidiary Table III shows that in every 10,000 Hindus of either sex and all ages 6 males and 33 females below 10 years of age are married, and 2 females are widowed. The corresponding figure for married girls was 43 in 1911. This satisfactory drop in the proportion is continued again in the age group 10-15, which has now 255 married females per 10,000 against the 275 of 1911.

In Subsidiary Table II, figures have been shown separately for the Hindus of Goalpara and of the rest of the Brahmaputra Valley, as marriage practices are different. In Goalpara, the lower castes still marry very early, and Bahu Dwijesh Chandra Chakravarty of Gauipur informs me that the average age of marriage for girls is still no higher than 11 or 12. In Assam proper, or the five other districts of the valley, the only indigenous castes practising early marriage are Brahmans and Ganaks or Daibajnas, with whom marriage of girls before puberty is compulsory. Even in these cases, however, the girl-bride does not go to live with her husband until 6 months or a year after she attains puberty.

Telis and some other ter-garden coolie classes, as well as the Marwaris, also keep to the lower ages; in some cases they marry both their sons and their daughters below 10.

In other castes and classes of the Brahmaputra Valley the age is much higher—generally between 15 and 18. Mr. G. G. Phukan of Sibsagar puts it at 15-20, and Srijut Dalim Chandra Bara of Tezpur says: "..... There is no fixity of marriageable age. Marriage is held according to convenience of parents. It generally varies from the 15th to the 25th year." Thus we find that in Goalpara, 407 out of every thousand Hindu girls aged 10-15 are married and 19 widowed, while the proportions are only 137 and 5 for the rest of the Valley. Boys also are married earlier in Goalpara than elsewhere.

In the Surma Valley the custom approximates to that of Goalpara. Orthodox Brahmans marry girls at about 12, other *bhadralok* classes at 14 to 16. Early marriage (at 10 and under) prevails to a considerable extent among Sultras, Yogis, Patnis, Namasudras and others. Economic stress has caused many of these to raise the age. Nevertheless, the statistics show an even greater proportion of Surma Valley Hindu females aged 10-15 as married or widowed than in Goalpara. As a consequence, we find much higher percentages of widows among Hindu women in the Surma Valley and Goalpara than elsewhere.

Subsidiary Table V shows Civil condition for certain castes, and is of interest as the ages are in groups different from those of the other tables. There are still several castes with considerably over 10 per cent. of their girls under 12 years old married; but a comparison with the corresponding figures of 1911 shows that nearly all the castes, especially in the Surma Valley, have lowered the proportion. A notable exception is the Barni caste, who now have 165 married females per thousand aged 5-12, against 138 married and widowed in 1911. In this case, however, the caste numbers have fallen to about one-third of their last census total owing to adoption of other caste-names, and the statistics of marriage are therefore not strictly comparable with those of 1911. For the same reason the figures for Kaibartta Chasis, who appear with the unenviable position of 20 per mille of widows among their girls under 12, are not reliable. Among the more educated classes, we find

Animists is much less even than among Muhammadans; but the proportion of widowers is greater. There is no substantial change in the customary ages of marriage among the different tribes. Usually it is after puberty and, as the statistics show, often at over 20 years old. There are, however, exceptions. The Rev. G. G. Crozier of Manipur mentions the case of the Kom Kukis, who become engaged in infancy and very often marry before puberty and consummate the marriage in childhood. On the other hand the Tangkhul Nagas marry at about 18—20—never before puberty, and the Thado Kukis often not till 20 or later. The Rev. F. W. Harding reports that among the non-Christian Garos marriage still often takes place before puberty; the custom seems, however, to be decreasing, because in spite of the general increase in the Garo Hills population, the number of girls under 15 who are married has decreased from 2,600 in 1911 to 2,300 in 1921. The Lhota Nagas occasionally give their girls in marriage at under 10 years of age.

As noted in former census reports, polygamy is allowed among several tribes. The provincial statistics for Animists are obscured by immigration of Santals, Mundas and others to tea gardens, but in any case the practice of polygamy has its limitations and our figures show that it cannot be very extensive. The number of Animist married women, about 252,000 is only some 3,000 more than the number of married men, and this difference is more than accounted for by the Garo Animists. In the Garo Hills a man may take as many wives as he pleases, and there is no bride or bridegroom price. But three wives is usually the maximum number, and the husband must pay compensation unless he obtains his first wife's permission before taking a second.* The economic factor also is bound to enter; for instance, the Chulikata and Bebejiya Mishmis of the North-East frontier are polygamous, but the number of a man's wives is limited by his purchasing power.

Exogamy prevails as before, but the rigour of custom is tending to relax in some cases. The tribes usually known as Abor are all divided into exogamous clans and particular care has always been taken to prevent inter-marriage; but among the Padam Abors the rule has been relaxed of late years owing to the size of the clan. Each clan is, however, subdivided into smaller clans or families with endogamy strictly forbidden within them. The Akas, says Captain G. A. Nevill, Political Officer, Balipara, are strictly neither exogamous nor endogamous; social grades exist and a person of one sub-clan will not marry one of a (socially) lower sub-clan, but will choose a partner from an equal clan or another tribe.

Mr. Cumming, Assistant Political Officer of Pasighat, notes that the Miris, with four great clans divided into smaller exogamous clans kept as distinct as possible, have prejudices against endogamy and will not knowingly countenance it; but of late years there has been so much inter-marrying that relationships have become somewhat involved. And Mr. Bordoloi, Extra Assistant Commissioner, was informed by the headmen of the Miris in the Lakhimpur district that, although there are clans which do not usually inter-marry, run-away marriages are prevalent and the parties are not excommunicated.

Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair states that nearly ten per cent. of the Garo marriages now-a-days are in violation of the rules of exogamous marriage, and no particular taboo or ostracism appears to follow the act. Some persons even go so far as to marry within their own motherhood, but this is looked on with more disfavour by orthodox Garos.† Among the Angami Nagas, the exogamous group known as the *thino* is giving place to its sub-division the *putsa* or kindred, and even marriage within the kindred is not unknown now-a-days. A reason suggested for this is that violent disputes between clans may have encouraged marriages within the *thino* in the last two generations.‡ A tendency to split up the exogamous group is also noted among the Lhota Nagas.

102. Both Christians and Buddhists generally marry later than followers of the other religions, and there has been no great change in their comparative statistics for civil condition by age. Both the religions have a greater proportion of unmarried than was the case in 1911. The proportion of widowers has risen for Buddhists as well as for Christians, but that of widows has fallen among the Buddhists and risen among Christians. The absolute numbers, however, are small compared with other religions, and such changes as have occurred in the proportions are probably due only to changes in the age-constitution of the population.

* Playfair—The Garos, page 69.

† Playfair, op. cit. page 66.

‡ Hutten—The Angami Nagas, page 113ff.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Condition 2: Civil Condition of 1,000 of each sex, religion and main age period at each of the last five centuries—omitted.

[illegible]

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution by main age periods and Civil Condition of 10,000 of each sex and main religion.

Religion and age.	Males.				Females.			
	Total.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Total.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL RELIGIONS.	10,000	5,566	3,921	513	10,000	4,297	4,134	1,569
0—10 ...	2,907	2,901	6	...	3,153	3,122	30	1
10—15 ...	1,205	1,177	27	1	1,056	795	252	9
15—40 ...	3,930	1,434	2,295	201	4,119	363	3,206	550
40 and over ...	1,958	54	1,593	311	1,672	17	646	1,009
Hindu ...	10,000	5,457	3,923	620	10,000	4,107	4,106	1,787
0—10 ...	2,735	2,729	6	...	3,020	2,985	33	2
10—15 ...	1,154	1,124	28	2	1,038	773	255	10
15—40 ...	4,054	1,536	2,288	225	4,177	335	3,194	643
40 and over ...	2,057	68	1,606	383	1,765	14	624	1,127
Muhammadan ...	10,000	5,807	3,907	286	10,000	4,302	4,302	1,396
0—10 ...	3,153	3,153	5	...	3,468	3,432	34	2
10—15 ...	1,345	1,320	24	1	1,092	725	355	12
15—40 ...	3,793	1,310	2,369	119	4,057	136	3,461	460
40 and over ...	1,699	24	1,509	166	1,383	9	452	922
Animist ...	10,000	5,481	3,971	548	10,000	4,818	3,996	1,186
0—10 ...	3,101	3,093	8	...	3,102	3,090	12	...
10—15 ...	1,118	1,089	28	1	1,027	933	91	3
15—40 ...	3,670	1,246	2,200	224	4,012	757	2,865	390
40 and over ...	2,111	53	1,735	323	1,859	38	1,028	793

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.

Proportion of the sexes by Civil Condition at certain ages for Religions and Natural Divisions.

Natural Division and Religion.	Number of females per 1,000 males.														
	All ages.			0—10.			10—15.			15—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ASSAM.															
ALL RELIGIONS ...	715	976	2,832	966	4,657	5,008	625	8,747	7,133	535	1,893	2,534	287	375	3,006
Hindu ...	684	952	2,622	934	5,155	4,824	635	8,572	5,700	165	1,271	2,510	192	313	2,677
Muslim ...	676	1,005	4,450	992	6,031	11,073	562	13,371	15,002	95	1,734	3,312	317	273	5,094
Animist ...	585	1,013	1,179	1,095	1,640	1,673	233	2,021	2,251	612	1,510	1,753	572	505	2,470
Christian ...	573	1,011	2,743	1,025	1,423	363	233	1,423	2,500	113	1,348	2,032	712	515	2,259
Buddhist ...	713	788	906	936	1,575	...	163	1,000	6,000	403	518	704	673	561	1,641
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY.															
ALL RELIGIONS...	736	999	2,076	685	4,215	2,918	661	5,928	3,609	270	1,220	1,687	187	373	2,042
Hindu (Excluding Goalpara ...	741	940	1,573	621	2,551	1,873	723	4,463	2,475	123	1,220	1,412	156	313	2,034
Goalpara ...	655	844	3,125	971	15,473	20,360	499	20,360	20,360	103	1,033	2,033	156	273	2,764
Muslim ...	626	931	3,011	973	7,833	21,220	382	21,220	19,423	303	2,123	3,311	324	535	4,232
Animist ...	623	877	1,739	678	1,513	714	513	2,213	1,923	703	1,413	1,724	477	473	2,013
SURMA VALLEY.															
ALL RELIGIONS...	628	1,023	4,142	1,007	6,517	10,619	493	15,870	17,631	34	1,808	4,032	155	267	4,002
Hindu ...	559	1,004	3,778	1,008	5,121	12,418	417	12,418	12,418	34	1,371	4,573	207	314	3,274
Muslim ...	683	1,041	4,850	1,007	4,145	8,243	433	10,121	17,631	34	1,412	3,007	324	325	3,412
HILLS.															
ALL RELIGIONS...	805	1,005	2,886	1,009	1,675	9,667	810	3,443	7,675	500	1,277	2,403	206	64	3,175
Animist ...	818	1,043	2,057	1,011	1,408	10,000	902	3,017	4,382	512	1,232	2,014	228	425	2,017

TABLE V.

of each sex at certain ages for selected castes.

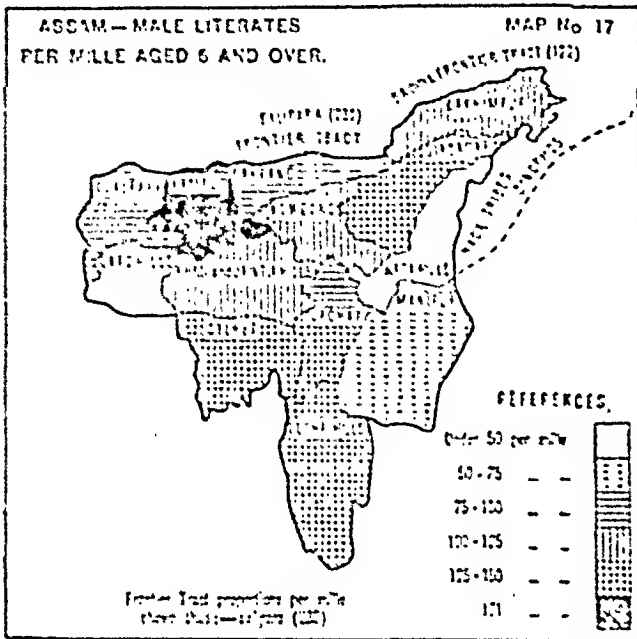
Distribution of 1,000 females of each age by civil condition.																			Serial No.
All ages.			0-5			5-12.			12-20.			20-40.			40 and over.				
Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.		
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	
521	363	117	1,000	...	...	982	18	...	728	263	9	62	827	111	19	449	532	1
448	403	149	1,000	...	...	951	49	...	363	615	22	15	536	149	2	348	650	2
296	432	272	1,000	...	...	835	165	...	90	842	68	3	697	300	1	207	792	3
277	474	249	990	10	...	816	134	...	47	919	34	11	783	226	...	207	793	4	
351	441	208	1,000	...	...	903	95	2	130	808	62	13	783	219	6	292	702	5
501	362	137	1,000	...	...	993	2	...	571	414	16	55	792	153	22	372	606	6
520	351	129	1,000	...	...	993	6	1	732	260	8	73	816	111	19	421	560	7
300	497	293	1,000	...	...	804	104	2	162	742	96	13	664	323	6	175	817	8
358	472	170	1,000	...	...	925	73	2	344	614	42	30	708	163	15	421	664	9
498	383	119	998	2	...	934	16	...	503	475	17	53	823	122	17	464	510	10	
490	398	112	1,000	...	...	955	14	1	493	500	17	40	854	97	16	45	526	11
362	380	258	1,000	...	...	916	64	20	179	736	85	19	659	292	4	210	786	12
463	369	168	1,000	...	...	976	23	1	472	507	21	32	801	187	9	338	655	13
417	439	144	1,000	...	...	965	34	1	457	504	39	42	810	148	11	433	558	14
369	405	220	1,000	...	...	938	60	2	234	711	55	17	744	239	7	254	739	15
477	374	149	1,000	...	...	931	19	...	566	420	14	38	814	146	14	378	608	16
483	364	153	1,000	...	...	986	13	1	564	418	18	41	812	147	10	363	627	17
450	382	168	1,000	...	...	997	3	...	571	385	64	21	807	172	9	469	522	18
356	378	266	999	1	...	918	79	3	217	706	77	19	699	292	2	205	793	19	
304	408	288	1,000	...	...	907	88	5	202	691	107	7	537	316	2	155	843	20
509	403	88	999	1	...	987	12	1	607	305	23	87	824	79	17	639	344	21	
495	370	135	1,000	...	...	991	8	1	603	371	21	47	819	136	16	402	582	22
298	443	259	1,000	...	...	867	129	4	83	551	61	10	707	283	4	195	600	23
345	409	246	1,000	...	...	924	74	3	170	765	65	9	715	275	4	229	757	24
303	415	282	1,000	...	...	861	131	8	82	823	90	34	650	316	16	180	604	25
366	405	229	1,000	...	...	987	109	4	163	751	71	11	720	269	3	235	762	26
342	386	270	1,000	...	...	928	67	5	142	783	70	19	659	292	12	203	735	27
491	354	153	1,000	...	...	994	6	...	653	320	22	48	809	143	9	354	607	28
360	393	247	1,000	...	...	928	61	11	139	757	104	10	709	231	30	202	763	29
395	459	146	1,000	...	...	934	15	1	548	423	24	35	814	151	10	454	538	30
298	436	266	999	1	...	851	146	3	81	833	81	8	701	253	23	229	748	31	
370	404	226	1,000	...	...	912	85	3	222	719	59	18	731	251	...	255	...	32

These proportions do not look high but they compare favourably with those of several other provinces, though not with our nearest neighbours. In Bihar and Orissa literates per thousand aged 5 and over, both sexes taken together, number 51; in the North-West Frontier Province the figure is 0, in the Punjab it is 45, and in the United Provinces only 42. Bombay has 83, Madras 98, Bengal 101 and Burma 314; for the high percentage in Burma there is of course a special reason—the number of monastic schools.

The Brahmaputra Valley, with its larger number of immigrants and aboriginal tribes, naturally falls behind the Surma Valley in literacy. The hills division is a bad third because of the preponderance of animistic tribes; that the hills figures are as high as they are is due mainly to the Welsh Mission's efforts in the Khasi Hills.

Balipara Frontier Tract shows the highest percentage of literacy, for males and

also for persons of both sexes taken together; but the whole district population is very small and the figures are therefore swollen unduly by the number of officials and literate members of the Assam Rifles at Lokra. Of regular districts, Kamrup leads with 91 literate persons in every thousand, owing to its high proportion (161 per mille) of male literates; this is doubtless due to its history of culture and the position of Gauhati as a past political and present educational centre. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills follows very closely because of its outstanding position in female literacy: the proportion of females who can read and write in these hills is 57 per mille—more than three times as much as that in any other district



in the province. In the province as a whole, there is one woman who can read and write to every nine men of the same standard, while among the Khasis, although the number of literate men is higher than in several other districts, the proportion is nearly one woman to two men—a remarkable achievement of the Welsh Mission and the Khasi people.

Cachar plains is next to Kamrup in respect of male literacy, with 148 per mille. Sylhet, 17 literate females in every thousand, follows the Khasi Hills as a bad second in female education. The Lushai Hills is the most progressive hill district after the Khasi and Jaintia Hills: it has now passed several of the Assam Valley plains districts and, with the enormous growth of Christianity and apparent eagerness of the Lushais to absorb learning, is likely to take a very high place at next census.

The Naga Hills occupies the lowest place in the table for male literacy, and Manipur holds the female wooden spoon, with only 2 literate women per thousand. In Manipur only 35 in every thousand of both sexes have reached the census standard: the State compares very badly in this with many of the great Indian States. In Travancore the number is 214, in Baroda 147, in Mysore 85, in Rajputana (all States taken together) 39 per mille. The Central India Agency, however, shows only 30 and Kashmir only 26.

Turning to the age-groups in Subsidiary Table II we see that the proportion of literacy is greatest in almost all districts at ages 15—20, both for males and for females. As pointed out in the last report, this satisfactory result shows that education is progressing, because we may assume that the literates in this age group represent children who have been under instruction during the previous five years and have learnt at least enough to bring them to the census standard. The rise since last census is very marked in the case of girls, the proportion at the learning ages and just after being almost double that of 1911.

105. It has been held in some quarters that large numbers of the children educated relapse into illiteracy within a few years of leaving school. By comparison of school attendance figures with

Retension of literacy. census statistics the proportion thus falling back has been calculated to be as much

Hindus.—Of Hindus, one male in every six in the province is literate, but only one female in 55. For both sexes the education of Hindus is more advanced in the Surma Valley than elsewhere; the proportion of literate Hindu females is 2·9 per cent.,—more than double that of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Buddhists.—The small Buddhist community follows next, some way behind Hindus, with 130 males and 8 females literate in every thousand of either sex. The proportion of literates shows very little improvement on that of last census.

Muhammadans.—The Muhammadans have advanced somewhat in literacy since last census, but their proportional figures are still very low, 85 per mille (aged 5 and over) for males, and 5 per mille for females. In those districts showing high proportions for Muhammadans in Subsidiary Table III it must be noted that their total numbers are small and that there are many traders among them. Mr. McSwiney suggested in 1911 that the figures of female literacy in some of the Assam Valley districts indicated that the general freedom among their Hindu neighbours might have led to more advancement of the local Muhammadan community there. The absolute numbers are, however, too small for any serious deduction to be made: a few literate women in the families of foreign traders or Government servants would make a considerable impression on the figures per thousand. It is noticeable that in Nowgong the proportion of literate Muhammadans, both male and female, has decreased heavily: this is doubtless due to the influx of Bengali cultivators, generally Muhammadans from Mymensingh.

A reference to the age group figures in Subsidiary Table I will show that the Muhammadan lag in education occurs at all ages.

The proportionate fall behind the Hindu figures is even more marked at the learning ages than at the later periods: generally the percentage of literate to the total of Muhammadans is, for boys of school-going ages, considerably less than half the corresponding percentage of Hindus: while for girls, it is hardly more than one-fourth. In Sylhet, which contains about two-thirds of all the Muhammadans in the province, and where Hindus are in a minority, the actual number of literate Hindus is more than double the corresponding number of Muhammadans for males; and for females the Hindu literates outnumber the Muhammadans by nearly seven to one.

The figures show clearly that, with the present conditions and apathetic attitude of Muhammadans in Assam they will never catch up the other communities in education; indeed, they are receding further from them.

Animists.—Animists have progressed somewhat in literacy, but not in as great a measure as the general provincial advance. The reason is that many in the hills and some in the plains are converted to Christianity; probably also some of the literate Animists of the plains become Hindus. The Lushai Hills has an exceptionally high number of male literate Animists, as was the case at the last census.

The influence of the mission schools in the Khasi Hills is reflected in the literacy figures for female Animists as well as for Christians, though in far less degree.

107. Most of the selected Hindu and Animist castes and tribes in Subsidiary

Literacy by caste or tribe.

Table VI show a greatly increased proportion of literates. The Baidyas, Kayasthas and Brahmans as usual have a long lead over all others. There are only about 7,000 Baidyas in the province and some of these are people of Bengal, but their literacy figures are remarkable: more than four-fifths of their males and nearly three-fifths of their females over five years old attain the census standard. Although the Brahmans and Kayasthas approach near to them in male literacy, the Baidyas, female proportion is over three times that of their nearest competitors.

Telis, Barnis, Britthal Baniyas, Kalitas, Sndras, Snts, Napits and Kewats are creeping up: all of these have now over 10 per cent. literate in both sexes taken together. The figures for Britthal Baniyas would doubtless be higher but for the fact that many of the community adopted the single name of Baniya, and this section had not been selected for tabulation.

Chasi Kaibarttas show a decline: this is owing to the abandonment of the old name by many of them in favour of Mahisya as a caste name. It would have been fallacious to tabulate the Mahisyas with them in this comparative table, as the name Mahisya was adopted also by many who returned themselves as Patnis at previous censuses; the Patni caste figures show a decline in literacy for this very reason.

Nadiyals have a less percentage of literacy than they had in 1911 on account of adoption by many of a different caste name, usually Kaibartta. The most depressed

The figures are for literacy; how far the increases may be taken as showing real progress in education is a question best left to the reports of the Education Department. From Subsidiary Table VII it will be seen that the number of institutions has increased greatly in the decennium.

Financial stringency has caused a small drop in the number of public institutions since the close of the census, but at the same time the number of private schools has increased slightly. The latter result is probably due in part to the Nationalist movement with its policy of attempting to combine politics with education. Several new National secondary schools have sprung up, but it appears that they too are suffering from the prevailing want of funds: some are tottering and others have already crumbled into dust.

The number of public secondary schools has more than doubled in the decade, and this is reflected in the census statistics of those literate in English, the 1921 figure being more than twice that of 1911. Unfortunately the great expansion of secondary education has been accompanied lately by a lowering of the standard of the Calcutta University matriculation examination. Increasing numbers of boys continue therefore to obtain the hall-mark of competency for clerical service under Government but find no posts awaiting them. Nor can private service in offices and like positions absorb the ever increasing number of passed matriculates and others who have to leave school and stop their education owing to want of means. As a result the cry has gone up for more technical education; but it is to be feared that no better fate will await the students of technical institutions than that of their brothers who have had a literary education, unless the number and scope of industrial undertakings in the province show more tendency to increase than can be foreseen at present.

The opinions of my correspondents, non-official as well as official, are almost unanimous that the first object of these embracing education is material and social advancement; in a few cases only, generally in the hills, it is suggested that religious reasons combine with the material, while pure desire of learning for learning's sake is hardly mentioned.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharji, M.A., of Gauhati, says:—

"Education is desired nowadays for material and consequently for social advancement. Money is the only thing now cared for — and that comes from education ..."

From Sibsagar, Srijut Ratnadhara Barua writes:—

"Education is desired only for material advancement, specially service or appointment under Government or private companies. Even the people of the agricultural classes do not like it — or they think it beneath their dignity to plough in their own fields only if they have read in schools. School education has deprived the people of the sense of the dignity of labour."

An opposite opinion from Sibsagar is given by Pandit G. D. Misra, Vidyabhusan, who says:—

"Unlike Bengal, education here is sought by all classes of society in all its diverse forms..... The villagers want to acquire the capacity for reading the Government notices and circulars, and religious books. The vogue of newspaper and magazine reading is also spreading apace."

Babu Dwijesh Chandra Chakravartty, Dewan of Gauripur Raj, Goalpara, remarks that in addition to the material motive, the instinct of education runs in families among the higher castes, while "lower castes look upon education as a common leveller, and this social advancement is no mean factor in inducing people to educate their children."

The same point is noted by Babu Jagannath De of Silchar. He quotes Chanakya's dictum "an educated man is respected everywhere" and notes that the so-called unclean castes have risen much in the social scale by means of education; they can mix with the higher castes on an equal footing in schools and offices; they can also improve their manners and customs and thus mix more easily with members of other castes—for example, the Yogis and Patnis of Cachar are said to have gained much in this way by education.

As to female education, there has been a general expansion of the liberal view and as shown above the census figures reflect this. Opinions are divided as to the effect of education on girls. One correspondent says "They neglect domestic and other works that are considered mean and derogatory, such as drawing water, husking paddy, cleansing utensils and cow-houses, cooking, etc." But another writes "They do not appear to neglect their domestic work at this stage of their education." Girls of the Ao Nagas, educated by the American Baptist Mission, are said to neglect their field work, and cases are quoted of their falling into immorality through idling in the villages. But they carry on domestic work in their houses as before.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Progress of literacy since 1881.

Number of literate per mille.																								
DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVI- SION.	All ages, 10 and over.											15-20.					20 and over.							
	Male.						Female.					Male.			Female.		Male.			Female.				
	1881.	1891.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1901.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1911.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.	1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
ASSAM	144	117	63	83	56	15	8	6	3	1	161	126	92	23	12	8	150	11	91	13	7	5		
PRAHMATTARA VALLEY	149	116	79	71	31	12	6	4	2	1	161	129	85	20	10	6	143	119	82	10	5	4		
Chapara	112	100	68	66	50	10	5	3	2	1	117	91	63	14	8	3	116	111	73	8	6	3		
Kamrup	163	145	100	66	53	15	7	3	1	...	224	172	116	24	12	5	169	141	109	12	8	3		
Darrang	101	82	68	60	50	8	4	4	2	1	120	86	72	14	7	6	109	87	72	6	3	3		
Nowgong	125	111	74	65	57	13	7	3	2	...	146	141	72	21	11	3	140	153	79	11	6	2		
Sibsagar	160	112	79	81	10	14	7	6	2	1	193	143	88	24	12	8	163	123	81	12	6	6		
Jamunagar	119	107	80	60	42	12	7	6	3	2	157	121	75	21	11	6	125	109	84	10	6	6		
Sallya	129	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	134	...	...	21	...	...	148	...	...	8	...	...
Dolgaon	247	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	205	...	...	40	...	...	263	...	...	12	...	...
SURMA VALLEY	169	125	110	101	69	19	9	5	3	1	191	142	109	25	11	6	176	139	118	15	7	5		
Chirap Main	174	147	119	107	59	17	9	5	3	1	203	157	117	26	13	6	181	151	150	14	8	4		
Sylhet	163	132	109	109	63	18	8	5	3	1	189	139	106	25	11	6	175	136	115	15	7	5		
HILLS	91	65	51	38	20	18	11	12	8	3	101	79	59	28	18	20	96	69	57	16	10	10		
Garo Hills	43	20	21	19	8	6	3	3	2	...	52	40	21	13	6	5	46	31	24	6	3	2		
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	149	112	108	63	74	65	11	14	17	8	165	117	122	96	65	68	146	119	110	56	31	35		
North Cachar	67	62	67	17	1	8	5	6	...	...	60	38	67	5	8	5	104	77	66	7	5	7		
Naga Hills	35	22	24	21	11	5	1	2	1	...	52	24	39	11	2	3	34	24	36	4	1	2		
Lushai Hills	166	119	71	...	...	12	4	2	...	...	165	119	89	19	7	2	190	124	78	10	3	1		
Manipur	65	54	27	...	...	2	2	1	...	...	63	60	22	3	2	1	94	60	31	2	2	1		

* Persons over 15 years of age returned as learning in 1901 have been treated as literate.

† Statistics of literacy by age for 1901 are not available: the figures in columns 6 and 11 represent the proportion of those returned as literate and learning, to the total population of all ages.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Number of Institutions and pupils according to the returns of the Education Department.

Class of Institution.	1921.		1911.		1901.		1891.	
	Number of—		Number of—		Number of—		Number of—	
	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.	Institutions.	Scholars.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL KINDS ...	5,095	231,591	4,118	168,250	3,453	109,800	2,640	78,784
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.	4,844	223,523	3,939	162,193	3,196	104,308	2,355	72,995
Arts Colleges ...	2	846	2	230	1	49	...	...
Law College ...	1	60	...	...	...	...	...	...
Secondary Schools ...	335	40,088	157	20,836	150	13,980	110	10,309
Primary " ...	4,407	179,754	3,658	136,527	3,006	89,050	2,222	62,145
Training " ...	11	447	9	361	22	350	16	331
Other special " ...	88	2,328	113	4,239	17	849	7	210
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS	251	8,068	179	6,057	252	5,492	285	5,789
Advanced ...	24	920	19	710	89	2,431	96	1,852
Elementary ...	40	1,520	25	354	1	18	19	462
Teaching the Koran only ...	98	2,817	117	3,957	166	2,916	162	3,168
Other schools not conforming to the departmental standard.	89	2,811	18	1,036	6	127	8	307

other parts of India, 6 of Asia outside India, and six are European languages. It should be noted that several vernaculars of Nepal have been included under "other parts of India" because they belong to Darjeeling district and Sikkim as well as to Nepal.

Those returned by small numbers of people have generally been included in "others" in Imperial Table X and details by sex and district have not been given in any Appendix such as was printed in 1911. The details have been supplied to the Director of the Linguistic Survey and have been left on record at Shillong.

114. The Census tries to record the language ordinarily used by each person in his own home, entries for infants and deaf-mutes following the language of the mother. In a country with various races and numerous immigrants from distant parts, difficulties are bound to arise: bilingual tribes, illiterate coolies speaking different types of tea garden *patois*, and ignorant or indifferent enumerators combine in Assam to exacerbate the ordinary difficulties of a language return.

In the last census report (paragraph 100) Mr. McSwiney remarked "I am afraid that the return of language in Assam will always be marred by a certain amount of inaccuracy, though no doubt the error will show a gradual diminution at each successive census..." At this census the prophecy has been fulfilled as to the first part; the second part is probably true as regards the Tibeto-Burman languages, but as to the entries of Bengali and Hindi I fear inaccuracy is as great as before in the large tea districts of the Assam Valley. Our old friend "coolie-bāt" arose with all its former strength, and Assamese enumerators were as prone as ever to enter "Bengali" for any language that was foreign to them.

The tables of birthplace show that the number of persons born in Bengal and censused in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur has remained about the same, 23,000, and the number of tea garden immigrants from Bengal in the whole province has actually fallen from 35,000 to 28,000. Yet the number of Bengali speakers in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur (both districts untouched by the new influx of Eastern Bengal cultivating settlers) stands at 236,000 against the 204,000 of the last census. The increase might possibly be accounted for by natural growth, had the original number in 1911 really been all speakers of Bengali as recorded; but the figure remains at too high a level and cannot be accounted for wholly by immigrants from Bengal and their descendants. In the other districts of the Valley the increase of Bengali-speakers is more in consonance with the statistics of immigration and natural growth, though Darrang shows signs of the tendency found for the two districts already mentioned; the Deputy Commissioner of Nowgong also complained of the difficulty. Every endeavour was made by District and Subdivisional Census Officers to arrive at the true facts and to train the census staff to do so. Nevertheless our returns are certainly vitiated to some extent by the real impossibility of diagnosing the language of tea coolies, as well as by the laziness of some, and the ignorance of most, enumerators.

In Sibsagar, Mr. Mullan, the Subdivisional Officer, gave much personal attention to the problem and proved again that the difficulty was a very real one. After close questioning of many coolies, and with literate Assamese and Bengali helpers, he was still unable properly to place the ordinary "coolie-bāt" or mixture of Hindustani, Bengali and Assamese. He was, however, able to eliminate the common error of entering Bengali in many cases. Generally it was necessary to enter Hindi for all such returns as "deswali," "coolie-bāt," "Farsi" (except when religion and condition indicated a real speaker of Persian), "Manjhi-bhasha", etc., since they approach the ordinary colloquial Hindustani of Upper India more nearly than anything else. In some parts, however, it was found that the *patois* spoken by *ex-coolies* and their children born in Assam contained a greater mixture of Assamese than of other languages: in such cases the entry made was Assamese. For similar reasons the entry of Bihari was considered to be too untrustworthy to be taken as the true Bihari language of the Linguistic Survey: accordingly, Bihari also has been merged in Hindi. As it is almost impossible even approximately to divide the Hindi-speakers into speakers of Eastern and Western Hindi and Bihari, I have shown the entry Hindi in Subsidiary Table I in its correct place (according to the Index) as representing a form of the Hindustani dialect of Western Hindi, *i.e.*, in the Inner Sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages. [See also remarks in paragraph 120, end part.]

With definite tribal languages of districts of other parts of India also difficulties arose but local officers were able to surmount these in most cases with the caste and birthplace data, maps, tea-garden registers, the census code list of and general enquiries. Probably a certain number of speakers of such

The final return shows a distinct preponderance of Assamese to Bengali speakers somewhat less than the corrected figures of W. McSwiney made in 1911, and much greater than the tabulated figures of 1911 would show. Allowing for immigration of new Bengali settlers, therefore, I think that this year's figures show a fair degree of accuracy in Goalpara.

To illustrate the difficulty in this district, I quote the opinion of a former Chief Commissioner, who had an intimate knowledge of rural life in the province. He said "We may take it as a settled fact that, so long as we attempt to work upon a basis of 'Bengali' and 'Assamese' the language statistics of Goalpara district will be worthless. The plain fact is that the people of Goalpara district all speak 'Goalpari'. At the Bengal end they speak it with a tinge of Bengali; at the Assam end with a tinge of Assamese; and in the middle with a tinge of both".

Sir George Grierson says that the language spoken in western and south-western Goalpara is pure Rajbangsi, which is a well-marked dialect of Bengali, and he names the dialect of the eastern part of the district western Assamese, which is Assamese influenced by the Rajbangsi dialect of Bengali spoken immediately to the west.*

116. Subsidiary Table I shows the total number of speakers of the important languages in thousands in 1911 and 1921 and their proportion per mille of the population in the latter year.

Linguistic distribution general.

Subsidiary Table II gives the distribution by districts, as proportions in 10,000 of the population of all languages spoken by over 2 per cent. of the people in the whole province. Local distribution of the rest may be found from Imperial Table X. For detailed accounts of the structure and affinities of the various languages and of their distribution in India, reference should be made to the volumes of the Linguistic Survey.

With the help of Grierson's Index we find that almost all the languages recorded, including most of the "others" in Imperial Table X, fall into one of the four great families. The number not so falling (unclassified gypsy languages, etc.) is less than 1,000 and has no appreciable effect on the general proportions. Speakers (actual numbers) of all the four families have increased considerably since the last census, but in varying degrees. The present distribution and that of 1911 are shown in the margin as proportions in a thousand of the population.

Language family.	1921.	1911.
Austrie ...	58	49
Tibeto-Chinese ...	179	190
Dravidian ...	12	8
Indo-European ...	761	753
Speakers ...	1,000	1,000

The Indo-European family maintains its position with little change, dominating all the others with over three-fourths of the population speaking one or other of its languages. The loss in proportion of the Tibeto-Chinese family is due chiefly to immigration, shown in the corresponding gains of the Austrie and Dravidian families; the extra speakers in these two families are Mundas, Santals, Oraons, etc., in the tea gardens.

117. There are two sub-families of this family, the Austro-Nesian and the Austro-Asiatic. Only the latter is represented in Assam: it has two branches, the *Mon-Khmer* and the *Munda*.

Austrie Family.

Khasi forms a group by itself and is the sole representative in Assam of the *Mon-Khmer* branch. It is an island of speech in a definite area, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, surrounded by Aryan

Khasi.

and Tibeto-Burman languages. The number of Khasi speakers has increased by 3,000 to nearly 204,000; the smallness of the increase is due to influenza, for the language grows with the tribe and contact with plains people or foreigners has no absorptive effect on Khasi. The work of the Welsh Missionaries in preserving and improving its literature is well known. The Survey figures are too low simply on account of the lapse of time.

In the *Munda* Branch, speakers have nearly doubled in the decade. All are coolies or ex-coolies of tea gardens, and most of them speak Mundari, Santali or one of the other dialects of the

Munda languages.

Kherwari language. Although some who should have been shown as speakers of these languages have been entered as speaking Bengali or Hindi, the language figures, except for Santali, approach more nearly to the tribal figures than was the case in 1911, and I think therefore that there is more accuracy here than at last census.

* Linguistic Survey of India, Volume V, Part I, pages 163 ff. and 414.

In the ASSAM-BURMESE BRANCH we have several groups and sub-groups comprising most of the plains tribal languages and the hill languages of the interior and the eastern frontier, such as Kachari, Garo, Lushei, Mikir, the various Naga, Kuki and Chin languages, and Manipuri. In the Bodo group an increase of 19,000 in Garo speakers contrasts with decreases in Kachari and Dimas, Rabha, Tipura and Lalung—most of these probably being due to the bilingualism error or to neighbouring Assamese or Bengali Hindu influences causing an actual wish to suppress the tribal language as a supposed badge of barbarism. The decrease in speakers of Tipura probably arises largely from emigration of Sylhet Tiparas to Tripura State owing to prohibition of *jhuming* in Sylhet. It is difficult to compare this group with the Linguistic Survey figures, as most of its components are spoken also in Bengal. It seems, however, that the survey figures for Lalung are much too high (40,000 against the census 10,000); while those for Chutiya are too low.

In the Naga group, an increase of 15,000 speakers is accounted for partly by the census of the trans-Dikhu Konyaks for the first time and partly by actual growth in a few tribes, notably Mikir (+ 6,000) and Angami (+ 4,000). Generally, however, on account of the severity of influenza in the Naga Hills and neighbouring tracts, the speakers of languages of this group have increased little or have actually decreased: for instance, Lhota speakers are 2,000 less and Tangkhul speakers are 3,000 less than in 1911. But according to the census the Survey figures for the Naga group are too low, the deficiency being chiefly in the numbers estimated for Angami, Ao and Mikir. There is a fall of nearly 5,000 in the number of Kachha Naga speakers. This is probably due partly to inaccuracy in 1911 and partly to some having been returned now under Naga (unspecified) and Angami: although their languages are different the Kachha Nagas have been much influenced by the Angamis and they are probably from the same stock.*

The Kuki-Chin group includes the non-Naga languages of Manipur and various tongues of the Lushai Hills and the Burma border. Manipuri, the only member of the Meithei sub-group, continues its vitality. Numerically, it is the most important member of the whole Tibeto-Burman sub-family in Assam. The number of its speakers has increased by 10 per cent. to 321,000—a number which is over 4 per cent. of the population of the province; and the survey estimate of 240,000 is now much too low. In the northern Chin sub-group there is an increase in the Manipur language Thado, which now has over 31,000 speakers, corresponding very closely with Survey figures. The numbers recorded for Paite and Ralte, which are spoken in the Lushai Hills and Manipur, have decreased in both districts; there is nothing to show that these have been returned under any other name, and I can only account for the decrease by the economic and epidemic disease troubles which resulted in the very low rate of growth in the Lushai Hills and among the Hill tribes of Manipur. The decrease is hardly compensated for by an increase in speakers of Lushei or Dulien (+ 5,000), in the Central Chin sub-group and of Hmar (+ 4,000) in the old Kuki sub-group.

The low number (40,539) given in the Survey for Lushei speakers appears to be due to the fact that the Survey estimate was based on the census of 1891, when only the area known as North Lushai was counted.

The different tribes and languages are so numerous that it seems we must always have some 'unspecified' entries, until our enumerators are experts. At this census there are 19,000 persons returned as speaking Kuki unspecified, and 5,000 Chin unspecified. These last are the new Chin immigrants from Burma.

Of the remaining groups of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family there is little to be said. Speakers of Singpho, in the Kachin group, have increased to over 5,000 in Lakhimpur and Sadiya, partly owing to census of new villages. Languages of the Burma group are spoken only by a few temporary immigrants and by descendants of a small remnant of the Burmese invaders of Assam—now 91 persons—who are settled in the Garo Hills and still speak Burmese.

There remain three other Tibeto-Burman languages named after the Loi villages, Andro, Sengmai, and Chairel. These, owing to scantiness of information, are at present unclassified†. They have been placed in a group called Lui and from recent enquiries in Manipur the Political Agent believes that they are not quite extinct but are still spoken at home by some

* HUTTON:—*The Angami Nagas*, 16, 156.

† Linguistic Survey, Vol. III, Part III, p. 43. See also Hodson, *The Meitheis*, pp. 8-13.

The number of Assamese speakers noted in the Survey has now become too low by about 280,000; and the number of Bengali speakers estimated by the Survey for Assam falls short of the census total by 970,000. In the Brahmaputra Valley the proportion speaking Assamese has naturally suffered by the increase of Bengali immigrants outside the tea gardens and of Oriya, Munda and Kherwari speakers brought up by the gardens; but in the provincial proportions Assamese loses little.

The third member tabulated under the Eastern group is Oriya; in this we find an increase of 100,000, the total of speakers being now 162,000: most belong to tea gardens or have been connected with tea in the past. They are found in varying proportions in all the tea districts.

In the INNER SUB-BRANCH, *Pahari Group*, we have only one representative, Naipali or Khas-Kura. Its speakers are found all over the province, in the hills as well as in the plains. Their number has more than doubled since the last census and is now 95,000. This probably includes some whose mother tongue is one of the Tibeto-Himalayan languages, but on the other hand, a certain number of Naipali speakers may have been entered under Hindi. Allowing for both errors, I think our census number is not far from correct.

In the *Central Group* are Hindi and Rajasthani. The speakers of Rajasthani are more by only 1,000 than in 1911, although immigrants from Rajputana have increased by 4,000 in the decade: the difference has probably gone into Hindi. As explained in paragraph 4, I have placed all Hindi speakers in this group as vernacular Hindustani is officially classed as a dialect of Western Hindi. An attempt to divide the Hindi figures by use of immigration statistics is full of difficulty, because in many cases the actual districts of origin of tea garden coolies are not known and also because the mongrel tongue spoken by them often falls into no proper language. Roughly it may be that two-thirds of the 468,000 Hindi speakers enumerated should be placed under Bihari, a quarter under Eastern Hindi and only one-twelfth under Western Hindi; but this is little more than a guess.

121. In Sibsagar and Lakhimpur 567 persons were entered as speaking Dom. According to the Index this is a gypsy language; but most likely the language entry was a mistake and the persons were Doms by caste,—connected with tea gardens and speaking some language foreign to Assam, probably Bihari or Bengali.

Fourteen speakers of Kanjari, all males, censused in Manipur, were probably really vagrants from Northern India.

122. General remarks about the languages spoken by tea garden coolies have been made in the preceding paragraphs. Detailed statistics will be found in Provincial Table VIII. Very few of the speakers of Tibeto-Chinese languages are found on the gardens. Over three-fourths speak Indo-Aryan languages, nearly one-sixth follow the Munda Branch and about one-fifteenth the Dravidian family. Speakers of all have increased but the Munda and Dravidian language proportions are higher than they were in 1911, when the Aryan languages (chiefly Hindi, Bengali and Oriya) swallowed more than four-fifths of the numbers. This result was to be expected in view of the change in origin and class of immigrants discussed in Chapter III, paragraph 56.

Although language cannot be taken as a test of race, and deductions as to absolute

Speakers enumerated in (000's omitted).				
Language.			Province.	Tea gardens only.
Hindi ...	...	...	468	252
Oriya ...	...	...	162	134
Telugu...	...	...	30	25
Kurukh or Oraon	...	...	40	18
Gondl ...	...	...	22	12
Munda languages	...	...	263	141

numbers of tribes cannot be made from it, the statement in the margin throws some light on the classes and numbers of tea garden immigrants settling on the land in Assam, and the languages spoken by them. Many of the Hindi speakers outside the gardens are doubtless men engaged in general labour, trade and transport, in addition to those who have taken up land. The statement indicates, however, the large numbers of *ex-coolies* from the aboriginal tribes of other provinces who are now remaining in the pro-

Among the Manipuris settled in Cachar there is a slight increase of speakers of the language, but in Sylhet a decrease (2,200) of speakers goes with an increase of the Kshattriyas. This decrease is more likely to be due to the general stagnation of the Hindu population of Sylhet in the decade than to the merging of the language in Bengali; but many Manipuris settled in the Surma Valley, especially males, are bilingual and error may have arisen from this.

(3). *Plains Languages*.—The languages most affected by contact with others in the plains are Chutiya, Lalung, Kachari and Rabha. *Chutiya* showed a slight increase at the last census, and Mr. McSwiney remarked that it was practically defunct but still retained a small spark of life. At this census it seemed to have disappeared altogether, but at my request special enquiries were made in Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, when it was found that certain entries previously taken as Miri should in reality be *Chutiya* (Deori). The number in 1921 shows another increase, and is now 4,113. At the same time the number of the tribe enumerated was 96,009. It seems that the Deori or Levite section of the tribe does not intend to abandon the parent tongue, though they may become completely bilingual. The matter is of historical interest, for the *Chutiya* language appears to be one of the original languages of Upper Assam.*

The *Lalung* language shows a further decline from 12,000 to 10,000 speakers, while the number of the tribe has risen from 39,000 to 41,000. Absorption by Assamese appears to be going on still, but the rate is slower than that noted at the last census, although 8·2 per cent. of the tribe are now Hindus, against 1·8 per cent. in 1911.

For *Kachari*, following the procedure of the last report, I have added the Dimasi speakers to those returned under Kachari and Meeh, since all the speakers are of the same tribe. In the result we find that there has been a drop of about 5,000 in speakers of these languages; the number of the tribe shows a decrease at the same time of 21,000. If the figures were reliable we should thus have nearly 90 per cent. of the tribe speaking the ancestral language, against 86 per cent. in 1911 and 75 in 1901. The tribal number shown, however, is a good deal lower than the actual, for many returned themselves under other castes, notably Kshattriya. The absolute decrease in speakers is reduced to only 1,700 if we exclude Dimasas. This is made up by an increase of nearly 20,000 in Goalpara and decreases in all other plains districts, especially in Kamrup, Darrang and Cachar. It seems therefore that among the Meeh section of the tribe the language is robust and growing with the population, although some part of the Goalpara increase is due to immigration of Meches from Jalpaiguri. But Assamese and Bengali are displacing Kachari steadily in the other districts. The accuracy of the enumeration was probably a little greater than at the last census (except in North Cachar), and the falling off in the language seems to show a real desire of some of the people to return Assamese and Bengali rather than their mother tongue. Probably they have not lost their Kachari, but a great number are bilingual and the usual feeling of superior civilisation conferred by Aryan speech must have influenced them concurrently with the move towards Hinduism. At the present rate, however, it will take many decades before Kachari dies out as a spoken language.

Rabha shows a decline in number of speakers from 28,000 to 22,000; the number of the tribe enumerated as Rabhas has decreased at the same time by nearly 9,000, but this is largely due to exclusion of Totlas, of whom 7,400 were added to the Rabha tribe total in 1911. It is true that in 1911 Mr. Friend-Pereira reported that the Pati Rabhas had lost their mother tongue and spoke Assamese (Assam Census Report, 1911, page 142). Apparently the process is extending, but it is early yet to say that Rabha is a dying language. At the last census an increase of 8,000 Rabha speaker was recorded, but this was attributed only to greater accuracy. I do not think the present decrease can be put down to a real relapse into inaccuracy on the part of the enumerating staff: it seems to be due to the same cause as the Kachari decrease—growing tendency of bilingual people to plump for the language of higher civilisation. The returns show a set-back, but this does not mean that the languages are dying yet. At the census of the United Kingdom in 1911 it was found that though speakers of Irish only and Gaelic only numbered 0·4 per cent. of the populations of Ireland and Scotland, yet speakers of both Irish and English were 14 per cent., and of both Gaelic

* For an account of Chutiya, see Linguistic Survey, Volume III, Part II, p. 118. See also Gait, History of Assam, pp. 38 ff.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.
Distribution of total population by language.

Language.	Total number of speakers (000's omitted).		Number per mille of population: (1921) of province.	Where chiefly spoken.	Language.	Total number of speakers (000's omitted).		Number per mille of population: (1921) of province.	Where chiefly spoken.
	1921.	1911.				1921.	1911.		
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
AUSTRIC FAMILY.	466	344	58		NAGA KUKI SUB-GROUP.	152	147	19	
AUSTRO ASIATIC SUB-FAMILY.	466	344	58		Mikir ...	109	103	14	Nowgong, Sib-sagar and Khasi Hills.
MON-KHMER BRANCH	204	201	26		Soproma ...	13	10	2	Manipur.
Khasi ...	204	201	26	Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	Tangkbul (Luhpa)	24	27	3	Ditto.
MUNDA BRANCH	263	143	33		EASTERN NAGA SUB-GROUP.				
Kherwari (Mundari, Santali, Bhumij, Turi, Korwa).	246	136	31		Konyak ...	7	2	1	Naga Hills.
Kharis ...	12	5	1	All tea districts	Naga (unspecified and unclassified).	22	17	3	Naga Hills and Manipur
Kurka ...	4	2	...		Kuki-Chin Group.	498	458	62	
TIBETO-CHINESE FAMILY.	1,425	1,346	179		MEITHEI SUB-GROUP.	324	295	41	
SIANESE-CHINESE SUB-FAMILY.	5	4	1		Manipuri, Meithei, Kutho or Ponsa.	324	295	41	Manipur.
Tai group.	5	4	1		OLD KUKI SUB-GROUP.	22	17	3	
Khamti ...	4	2	...	Sadiya and Sibsagar.	Hmar or Mhar ...	9	5	1	Manipur and Lushai Hills.
Shan ...	1	1	...		NORTHERN CHIN SUB-GROUP.	50	54	6	
TIBETO-BURMAN SUB-FAMILY.	1,423	1,342	178		Thado ...	31	27	4	Manipur.
NORTH ASSAM BRANCH.	80	58	10		Sekte ...	5	4	1	Ditto.
Ahor ...	13	1	2	Sadiya.	Ralte ...	6	7	1	Manipur and Lushai Hills.
Miri ...	65	56	8	Lakhimpur and Sibsagar.	Paito ...	9	16	1	Ditto.
ASSAM-BURMESE BRANCH.	1,332	1,272	167		CENTRAL CHIN SUB-GROUP.	77	72	10	
Bodo group.	490	488	61		Lnshei or Dulien ...	74	69	9	Lushai Hills.
Bara, Meeh or Plains Kachari.	260	261	32	Brahmaputra Valley.	Lakber (Lai) ...	3	4	...	Ditto.
Chantiya ...	4	3	1	Lakhimpur.	UNCLASSIFIED KUKI-CHIN.	24	20	3	
Dimasa ...	11	16	1	North Cachar	Knki (unspecified)	19	20	2	Cachar and Manipur.
Garos ...	173	154	22	Garos Hills and Goalpara.	Chin (unspecified) or Poi.	5	...	1	Lushai Hills.
Koch ...	5	4	1	Garos Hills.	Kachin group.	5	2	1	
Lalung ...	10	12	1	Nowgong and Khasi Hills.	Kachin or Singpho	5	2	1	Lakhimpur and Sadiya.
Rabha ...	22	28	3	Goalpara and Garos Hills.	TIBETO-HIMALAYAN BRANCH.	11	13	1	
Tipara or Mrung ...	5	10	1	Sylhet.	Non-pronominalised Himalayan Group.	7	7	1	
Naga group.	338	323	42		Garung ...	4	1	1	Everywhere.
NAGA-BODO SUB-GROUP.	20	26	3		Magari ...	2	3	...	
Empeo or Kachcho Naga.	3	8	...	Naga Hills.	Pronominalised Himalayan Group.	2	3	...	
Ksbui ...	16	17	2	Manipur.	Khamba ...	1	1	...	Brahmaputra Valley.
WESTERN NAGA SUB-GROUP.	88	81	11		Limba ...	2	2	...	
Angami ...	43	39	5	Naga Hills.					
Kezhama ...	5	5	1	Ditto.					
Rengma ...	5	4	1	Ditto.					
Sema ...	35	33	4	Ditto.					
CENTRAL NAGA SUB-GROUP.	49	49	6						
Ao ...	30	29	4	Naga Hills.					
Lbota or Tsontsa ...	18	20	2	Ditto.					

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Distribution by language of the population of each district.

District and Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of population speaking									
	Assamese.	Bengal.	Hind.	Manipur.	Bodo, Mech or Pulus Kachari	Kherwari (Santali, Mundari, etc.)	Khasi.	Garos.	Oriya.	Other languages.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ASSAM ...	2,160	4,413	585	408	325	307	255	216	203	1,130
BEAHMATUTRA VALLEY.	4,460	2,212	625	4	658	577	2	59	324	1,079
Goalpara ...	1,821	5,321	322	...	1,470	432	...	209	6	419
Kamrup ...	7,553	667	220	2	1,122	43	9	70	12	302
Darrang ...	3,671	1,813	730	2	963	888	1	11	655	1,256
Nongong ...	5,293	1,812	564	2	208	213	1	13	167	1,727
Sibsagar ...	5,232	1,696	740	7	15	665	...	1	541	1,203
Lakhimpur ...	3,076	1,755	1,339	8	6	1,319	1	1	666	1,769
Sadiya ...	1,610	263	716	26	2	195	...	...	287	6,901
Balijara ...	1,605	162	210	34	45	783	55	382	736	5,988
SURMA VALLEY ...	9	8,623	717	258	10	75	9	4	120	175
Cachar (including North Cachar).	39	5,951	1,916	974	53	146	23	...	172	726
Sylhet ...	2	9,189	468	109	1	43	6	4	109	78
HILLS ...	33	255	61	2,286	28	1	1,877	1,399	2	4,058
Garos Hills ...	27	1,122	47	...	64	...	2	7,960	1	777
Khasi and Jaintia Hills ...	35	177	115	...	...	...	8,220	267	...	1,186
Naga Hills ...	119	42	80	26	113	5	4	...	9	9,602
Lushai Hills ...	7	144	15	2	...	5	3	...	4	9,920
Manipur ...	4	18	36	6,334	1	...	...	...	...	3,607

NOTE:—Separate figures for North Cachar Hills are not available.

"Others" in column 11 includes all languages spoken by less than 2 per cent. of the population of the Province.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Comparison of caste and language tables.

Tribe and language.	Strength of tribe (Table XIII).	Number speak- ing tribal language (Table X).	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
Austrie family.			
Khasi and cognate tribes ...	164,808	203,855	Column 3 includes 37,852 Khasi Christians.
Munda	127,991	120,656	
Santal	84,138	103,034	
Tibeto-Chinese family.			
Abor-Miri	80,667	78,605	Column 3 includes 7,484 Garo Christians.
Chutiya	96,009	4,113	
Garos	161,915	172,912	
Kachari, Mech and Dimasa ...	303,584	270,639	Column 2 includes 15,728 Sonwals.
Khamti	2,953	3,957	
Lalung	41,033	10,383	
Lushai (Lushai, Hmar, Paite, Ralte)	61,090	84,999	Column 3 includes 24,125 Lushai Christians.
Manipuri	197,404	243,202	Manipur State only—see paragraph 123.
Mikir	111,629	109,120	Column 3 includes 7,926 Ao Christians.
Naga Angami	46,093	43,050	
Naga Ao	22,085	30,142	
Naga Lhota	18,400	18,412	
Naga Sema	33,464	34,883	
Naga Tangkhul	22,828	23,934	
Rabha	70,491	22,239	
Tipura	4,501	4,986	
Dravidian family.			
Gond	51,880	21,682	
Oraon	42,213	39,587	

correct. For lepers the number shown is likely to be too small, for the blind too large. For the other two infirmities errors of inaccurate diagnosis and concealment may to some extent cancel out, though not wholly, as the recurring differences for the two sexes indicate.

The three Subsidiary Tables attached to this chapter give proportionate figures by sex, district and age for the different infirmities, and for different census years.

Year.	Insane.	Deaf-mute.	Blind.	Lepers.	Total.
1921	9,099	5,557	7,778	4,464	21,598
1911	8,110	5,320	6,409	4,372	16,183
1901	7,510	4,675	5,750	6,088	17,032
1891	8,022	4,081	6,832	6,727	20,262

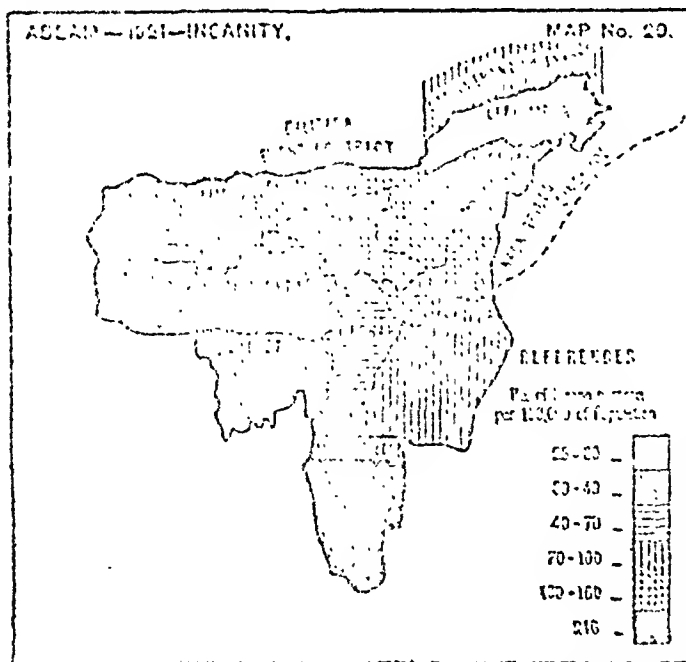
Note.—The figures in italics show the proportion per 100 of the total population.

The absolute numbers are small compared with the total population. In no single district except Sylhet does the number afflicted with any one infirmity reach one thousand, and in six of our districts the sum of the four classes is less than 1,000. Hence variations in the proportionate figures must be examined with caution.

The totals for 1921 and 1911 in the inset statement differ from the sum of the constituents on account of the inclusion of persons suffering from more than one infirmity. There were 260 of these in 1921 and 112 at the last census; the details will be found on the title-page of Imperial Table XII.

The total afflicted has grown by 2,495. Taking all together, the proportion of the infirm to the total population shows a slight fall compared with 1911. This is what we should expect, in as much as a great part of our increase of population consists of immigrants, among whom there are not likely to be many permanently infirm of body or mind. The proportions are considerably higher for each infirmity than those recorded in Bengal.

126. The number of the insane has increased as it did also at the last census. The proportion in the total population has also increased, but it is still less, for both males and females than that recorded in 1891 (see Subsidiary Table 1).



females) counted in the asylum. Excluding those born outside the district, Darrang falls into the class of 30-40 per 100,000.

The proportion of insane to total population in the Hills is now nearly double that for either valley. A part of the increase may doubtless be attributed to greater accuracy, especially in Manipur and the Naga Hills, but it must be noted that the Hills have shown excess over the plains at the last censuses. As was remarked the India Census Report of 1911, the areas of maximum intensity are either in hills or along the foot of the hills.

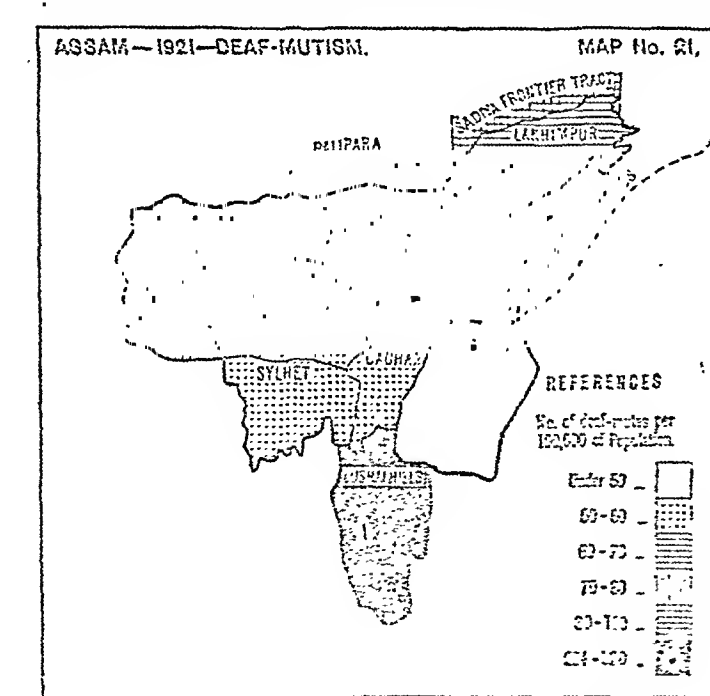
proportion of insane other areas where cousin marriage is prevalent (e.g., Sylhet with a preponderance of Muhammadans allowing the practice). Nor can any correlation be found between the amount of consumption of *ganja* by districts and prevalence of insanity, although in individual cases the malady can be traced to *ganja*. Locality, with its attendant physical conditions, may be a cause: yet it is impossible to say at present why our three most easterly hill districts should show far higher proportions of insane than the others on the west and in the centre of the province. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills proportion is the lowest of all districts in the province for males: yet few of our people live at greater altitudes than do the Khasis.

Into the one Mental Hospital of the province, at Tezpur there have been 995 admissions and readmissions in the ten years 1912—1921. From the medical returns it appears that the history or conditions and predisposing causes were unknown in 37 per cent. of the cases. *Ganja* accounts for about 20 per cent., but it is probable that only a small proportion of ordinary *ganja* lunatics would be likely to be sent to the asylum unless they become criminal. In 1921 the average daily number of lunatics in the asylum was 427, of whom 188 were criminals. The number of cases of mental stress, which falls under two heads, sudden and prolonged, is large: this seems to be the next factor in importance after *ganja* as a predisposing or exciting cause. A few private cases are admitted to the asylum, but most cases are detained by legal process. Criminal lunatics are sent under orders of the Local Government and non-criminals on a warrant from a Magistrate—generally after production by relatives or others who are unable to take proper care of them. In both cases examination and certification by a qualified Medical Officer is a necessary preliminary.

129. According to our returns the number and proportion of deaf-mutes has decreased everywhere in the plains and has increased in all hill districts except the Naga Hills. As map No. 21 shows, the worst districts are on the west, south-east and north-east boundaries, while the north, centre and south of the province are least affected. The Naga Hills was the worst district for this infirmity at last census and it is so again this time; but there

is a satisfactory fall from the high figures of 1911. The Lushai Hills district shows an enormous rise in proportions and now approaches the Naga Hills in the apparent severity of deaf-mutism. It is difficult to find a reason for the large Lushai Hills increase. Probably the 1911 figures were too low: the present ones approach nearer to those of 1901. Those who were dumb were assumed to be deaf also, but this procedure was also adopted in 1911, as the District Officer reports. In Manipur, owing to a mistake in translation, the head of column 16 in schedule read only 'deaf' instead of 'deaf and dumb' in the Manipuri language, but as this did not happen in the

instruction to the higher staff I do not think it is responsible for all the difference shown by this year's statistics. As I have noted in paragraph 125, however, the absolute figures are low, and a small difference in numbers due to the personal equation of the enumerators therefore makes a correspondingly great change in the proportions for a district.



as this did not happen in the

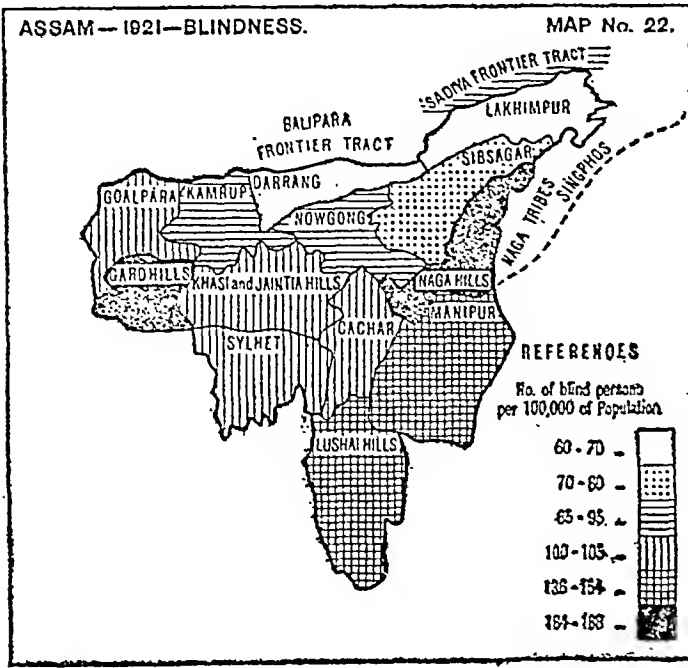
131. The proportion of blind in the province has increased for males by 3 and for females by 9 per 100,000 ; we have to go back to 1891 to find figures exceeding those now recorded. The increase is among females in the Surma Valley and in both sexes in the hills. The Brahmaputra Valley is still the division most free from blindness, and as a whole it has

Blindness.

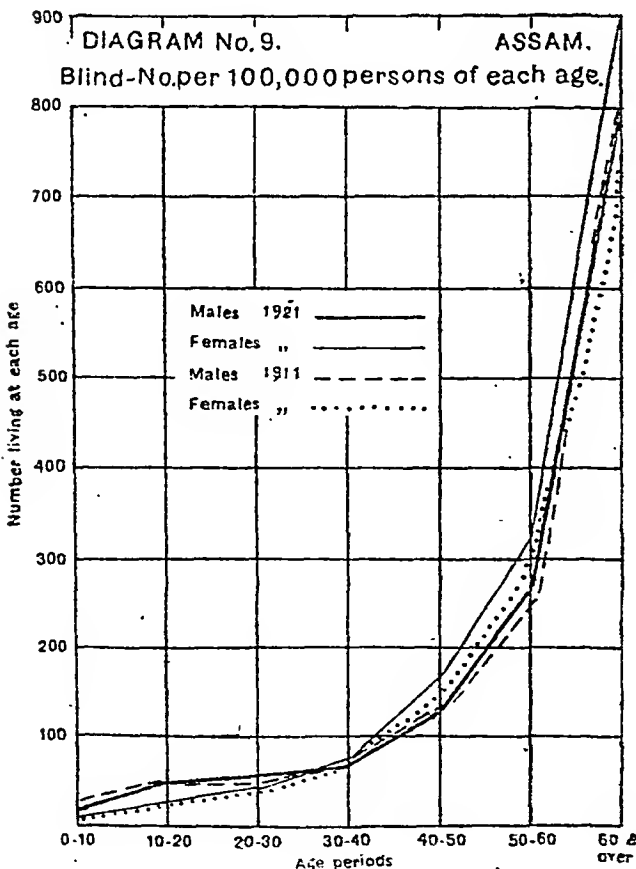
hardly varied from 1911. Different districts of the Valley vary considerably, some having increases and some decreases. Immigrants are distributed among all the districts, and cannot be taken as accounting for all the variations; probably here also the personal equation of the enumerators has entered.

The large increase in the hills is certainly due to greater care taken by the census staff—although of course this may also induce some excess of entries in the case of old people with dim sight who are not really blind.

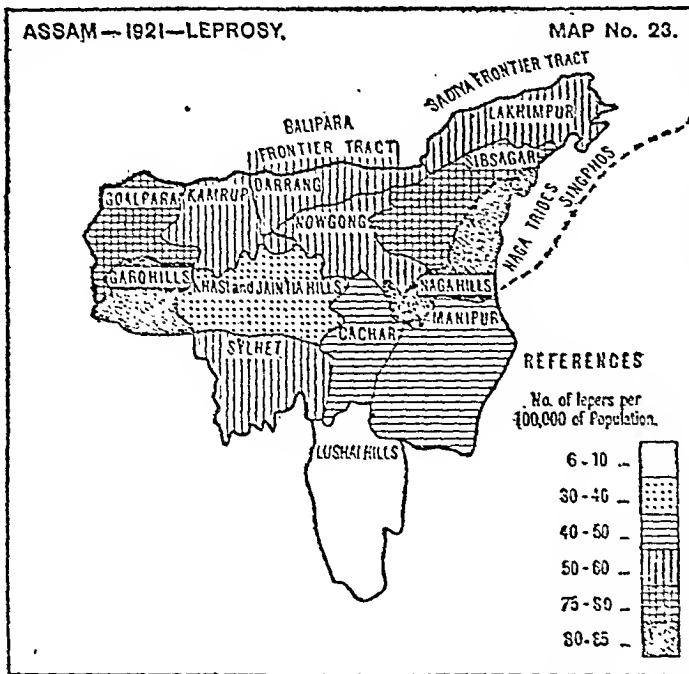
As explained in the last report, the high proportion of the blind in the hill districts, and especially in the Naga and Garo Hills, seems to be due to the absence of general cleanliness and ventilation.



132. The statistics of the two sexes approach much more nearly for blindness than in the case of other infirmities ; and there is hardly any concealment, since there is nothing derogatory to the family or to the individual in the admission. Blindness is an infirmity of the old, as shown by the accompanying diagram which compares the proportions in the age groups for the last two censuses. The higher position of the female curve at 30—40 and always after 40 will be noted. This confirms Mr. McSwiney's note of 1911 that women up to 40 seem to keep their sight better than do men, but after 40 they are more afflicted: this is probably due to dimness of sight brought on by the long time spent within the house and in presence of smoke from the cooking fire.



to the truth than do the 1911 ones. As map No. 23 shows, the Garo



and Naga Hills are now the worst areas and the Lushai Hills and Sadiya are the best for leprosy. In 1911 Goalpara and Sibsagar were the most affected districts. The incidence varies widely in different parts of the province; altitude, climate and race seem to bear no relation to the prevalence of leprosy—at least no

correlation can be traced

between those factors and the census statistics.

There are two leper asylums in the province, at Sylhet and Kohima. The Sylhet asylum on the census date had 59 inmates (50 males and 9 females), of whom 25 were born outside Assam. In Kohima asylum there were 35 lepers (27 males and 8 females), all natives of the Naga Hills. Lepers are admitted under the Act by Magistrates of districts on warrants. They can also be sent to asylums by the police and by Inspectors of lepers. But the legal process is seldom applied and in most cases applications are received from private persons, *e.g.*, Managers of tea gardens or from patients themselves. Civil Surgeons of districts also sometimes send cases for admission.

As until recently treatment has been rather palliative than curative, and institutions are so few, we cannot put down the decrease in the number of lepers to cure of cases. The reduction in the proportions seems to be genuine, especially as rises have occurred at the same time in the proportions recorded under two others of the infirmities, insanity and blindness. Immigration of a large number of people not generally suffering from disease may also have tended to lower the proportion of lepers. Legal action for segregation of lepers is rarely taken in Assam even in the case of beggars, but it seems probable that the general decrease of the proportions in the plains is due to improved sanitary conditions and care of the people themselves in avoiding contagion. It may be hoped that with the new treatments recently introduced, and extension of action both by the Mission to Lepers and by Government, the elimination of leprosy will proceed more rapidly.

The figures of the last census (the 1921 figures for all India have not yet been communicated) show that Assam occupied the highest position among the provinces as regards proportion of lepers, and the lowest position as to percentage of its lepers segregated in asylums. Although our proportion of lepers has decreased somewhat at the present census, the absolute number in the province has increased, and unless some more striking measures are adopted to cope with it the unenviable distinguished position of Assam is likely to continue. That it is possible to cope with it has been shown by the medical work of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, I.M.S. and the Settlement work of the Mission to Lepers.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

Number affected per 100,000 of the population at each of the last five Censuses.

[illegible]

No. and Natural District.	East.										West.									
	Male.					Female.					Male.					Female.				
	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.	1941.	1951.	1961.	1971.	1981.	1991.	2001.	2011.	2021.	2031.	2041.	2051.	2061.	2071.	2081.	2091.
1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2	97	91	97	107	74	86	87	91	105	57	80	90	123	182	96	27	32	39	60	38
3	80	81	85	76	77	78	78	76	74	49	87	98	129	175	91	53	41	42	65	41
4	101	130	127	154	115	105	94	143	147	81	116	137	210	287	163	57	34	61	93	59
5	91	100	127	152	118	76	12	11	61	55	71	78	137	187	72	51	31	23	35	30
6	62	64	55	47	77	65	63	45	46	50	77	63	77	123	49	36	22	23	65	25
7	59	64	71	67	55	1	103	75	63	24	78	104	77	131	51	35	43	27	51	27
8	63	67	47	54	47	72	64	51	51	19	103	114	128	225	116	45	52	51	62	53
9	63	50	71	66	53	59	64	55	61	29	65	75	102	158	91	56	48	48	88	37
10	102	...	...	...	...	66	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...
11	29	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	77	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	104	105	103	130	78	100	93	93	117	67	76	101	116	206	110	20	28	40	55	37
13	91	81	85	91	51	114	103	88	86	82	51	91	114	157	113	39	39	47	70	50
14	107	108	107	137	77	97	91	103	122	63	60	107	151	215	110	18	21	38	53	35
15	142	102	116	152	52	151	100	151	196	46	61	51	48	91	51	51	18	24	60	27
16	133	151	141	314	...	193	191	251	459	...	106	89	83	127	2	60	64	54	98	...
17	57	81	115	119	122	120	62	105	115	99	45	31	56	39	70	25	29	33	37	90
18	...	35	48	215	40	...	77	181	167	33	...	35	73	183	32	...	15	50	83	8
19	169	219	152	101	...	209	296	252	145	...	102	31	35	124	...	59	19	18	89	...
20	136	125	102	...	...	169	98	166	...	...	9	7	13	...	...	4	...	2	...	...
21	148	39	50	...	...	125	29	33	...	...	51	6	31	...	...	27	1	10	...	...

*Exclusion of figures born outside the district but enumerated in the Sythet leper asylum reduces the figures in columns 26 and 30 to 77 and 15 and columns 27 and 31 to 162 and 26.

CHAPTER XI.

CASTE, TRIBE, RACE OR NATIONALITY.

135. The statistics of caste or race have been collected at every Indian census since 1872. Serious suggestions have been made at various times for the omission of the question from the schedules and for the suppression of the classification of the Hindu population into castes in the census tables and reports. A Resolution was put down to this effect in the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1920. The resolution emanated from Assam and was to have been moved by a member from the Surma Valley, but owing to absence of the member it was never moved. The chief grounds for the motion appear to have been that the returns serve no useful purpose on account of their inaccuracy and that Government should not assist in the perpetuation of the caste system and thereby encourage feuds between caste groups. A similar motion was put down in the Assam Legislative Council in 1921, but was ruled out as the Local Government had no power to alter the census questions; also it was too late.

As to the first objection, we must admit to much inaccuracy, due partly to real ignorance and confusion about the foreign castes of immigrants and partly to indigenous tribes' and castes' changing their names or taking names previously used by other castes, in order to advance their social position.* Although this latter tendency has certainly been more pronounced in Assam at this census than at previous ones, it is a habit of old standing in some parts of the province. In 1891, Mr. Herald, the Subdivisional Officer of South Sylhet wrote,—“The tendency is to write down a higher caste. This is by no means confined to the census. Registered deeds, land revenue receipts, etc., were produced showing that the claimants had been striving (successfully in many cases) to raise their caste.....” It is not true, however, to say that the statistics are worthless, for caste is still the dominant factor in many problems of demographic importance in Hindu society over the greater part of India. Perhaps in this province the actual numbers in the Hindu castes are important in only a few cases, but a knowledge of races and tribes is essential for administrative purposes in addition to its academic interest. It must be remembered that the statistics obtained and tabulated are for *caste, tribe, race or nationality*, and not for caste alone. If we could have satisfactory definitions of ‘Bengali’ and ‘Assamese’ as race terms, and if the races of immigrants to tea gardens could be determined easily, it would certainly be a matter of much less trouble to the census staff to record and tabulate only race statistics instead of caste for Hindus and Muhammadans, just as is done now for Animists, Buddhists and Christians.

As to the second main objection, relating to caste feuds, it is wrong to say that the action of the Government by keeping the caste column in the census perpetuates the system and foments differences: the feuds arise from the action of the various castes themselves in cultivating the mistaken notion that the census can be used as a lever for raising their status. The census tries to record only facts as they are, and it is a principle that any man is at liberty to return the caste to which he believes he belongs. Therefore, after receipt of numerous petitions and counter-petitions, an order was passed by the Local Government that every person's caste should be entered as he himself described it, provided a real caste name was given. This, of course, assumed that every man must be supposed to be telling what he believed to be the truth. In fact, the rank and file of castes, who returned new names often probably believed that they were entitled to them; whether their leaders and the Pandits or Gossains from whom decrees were obtained (generally by purchase) believed the same thing is not within my province to discuss. Certain it is that no amount of census figures, nothing but the verdict of society itself, can raise any caste or any individual in social status. No names of persons are kept on record from the census, and whatever social or religious differences existed before appear to exist in just the same measure after the adoption of a new caste-name; if there is any change in status it is due to culture and wealth rather than to the alteration of name.

* A discussion of the relation of the caste system to the four classes or *Varnas* of the *Shāstr* and outside the pale will be found in Chapter XI of the India Census Report, 1911.

As to the first Subsidiary Table, I fear that not much reliance can be placed on the classification. It is necessary to classify somehow, and this appears to be the method least likely to lead to friction among castes. The immediate motive of nearly all the caste movements is the getting of some name which will show the caste to be agricultural and avoid the supposed odium of occupations such as fishing or labouring. Thus some persons whose old or real occupation is something other than cultivation are now shown under cultivators, because they have returned a cultivating caste.

137. Instead of the movement towards universal brotherhood advocated by reformers at various times* and reiterated recently by political leaders of the advanced school in India, we have to chronicle numerous separate movements started and continued by different castes for themselves and themselves alone. Being, as they generally are, efforts to raise their position by classes or groups who have had other classes on their backs for centuries, the movements are confined naturally to the castes concerned. Whether they are good or bad movements and whether the castes are entitled to the new names they have taken is not to be discussed here. I shall merely note the various agitations and their effects on the statistics. All alike are distinguished by the mark of clannishness or what for want of a better term might be called clan-selfishness—none has any connection with the uplift of other castes or the advance of society in general. And it was noticeable that some of the leaders in special caste agitations were themselves either connected with some political party or had political ends in view.

Representations were received sometimes from within the province, sometimes from without and sometimes from both.

Excluding minor changes or errors in nomenclature, the following is a list of castes and groups affected either by their own or others' agitation or changes of name:—

Baniya.	Grahapipra.	Mahishya.	Sudra.
Barui.	Kachari.	Mali.	Sunri.
Bhuinmali.	Kaibartta.	Mech.	Sut.
Boria.	Kaibartta Chasi.	Nadiyal.	Tambuli.
Brahman.	Kaibartta Jalia.	Napit.	Tanti.
Brittial Baniya.	Katani.	Patni.	Teli.
Das.	Kayastha.	Rajbansi.	Vaisya.
Dhoba.	Koch.	Saha.	Vaisya Saha.
Dom.	Kshatriya.	Sonwal.	Yogi.
			Yogis' Brahman.

It will be convenient to consider the movements in these castes as far as possible in alphabetical order; this will also obviate any suggestion that we are attempting to classify by social precedence. In what follows, where castes are grouped or discussed together, it must not be presumed that there is necessarily any connection between them unless it is so stated. The number in brackets after each caste is the total strength in round thousands, where it has been tabulated.

Baniya is usually regarded as a generic name of various trading castes, although it appears in the caste returns of other parts of India. The leaders of the Brittial Baniyas in Assam decided at this census to omit the prefix Brittial. This caused very little confusion with other castes, as there are only a few traders from Western India who return themselves as Baniyas in Assam. But the propaganda was not complete: the community is one, but part returned the old name and part the new. The result was that each part fell below the standard strength of 1 per mille and neither appears in the main tables. The total strength is 9,174 (5,989 Brittials and 3,185 Baniyas)—a slight decrease since 1911.

Baruis (9) returned themselves as Kayasthas in very many cases, and their recorded numbers have therefore dropped from 25,000 to 9,000. There were sharp quarrels in some places over this claim. This movement is not a new one—see 1911 report, page 128.

Bhuinmalis (2) have nearly all adopted the designation of Mali, the tendency to which was noted in 1911. Hence the heavy fall in their numbers from 35,000.

Borias are now only 1,400 against 22,000 at the last census. The reason for this is that they have preferred to give the name Sut, under which over 21,000 have been tabulated. See note on page 129 of the last report.

*For a recent instance, see a speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur at Nasik in 1920. He advocated the dissolution of castes and an equal start for all at birth. Speech reported in the Press, April 24th, 1920.

Kaibarttas (92) were shown in 1911 under three sub-heads : *Kaibartta Chasi*, *Kaibartta Jalia* and simple *Kaibartta*. See also Assam Census Report of 1901, page 132. The three groups have now been tabulated as entirely different castes, and the *Mahisya* caste has also been separated entirely. Those who returned themselves as *Kaibartta* only have increased more than fourfold from the 1911 total of 21,000. Some of this increase must be due to natural growth, but the greater part represents *Nadiyals* and *Doms* of the *Brahmaputra Valley* and *Jalia Kaibarttas* of *Sylhet* who have given up their old titles in favour of the simple *Kaibartta*. It was remarked in the 1911 report that, although the names *Kewat* and *Kaibartta* seemed to be interchangeable in *Kamrup*, the *Kewats* were discarding the word *Kaibartta* because of its assumption by the *Nadiyals*; this process seems to be complete now and we find that *Kewats* (100) have an increase such as might be expected by ordinary growth.

Kaibartta Chasis (9), numbered 65,000 in 1911. The present decrease is due to separate tabulation of the *Mahisyas*.

Kaibartta Jalias (3).—The drop from 45,000 in 1911 comes from the return by this group and the *Patnis* either of plain *Kaibartta* or of *Mahisya*, which latter name they had not thought of assuming at former censuses. With the change of caste name has gone a movement to return their occupations as cultivation rather than fishing or boating and to give up in some cases the retail selling of fish even when they have not given up fishing.

Katani is the name of the section of the *Yogis* living in the *Brahmaputra Valley* who were formerly supposed to be the only people who could or would rear the *pat* silkworm. They have been classed under *Yogi*, but I mention them here as a representation was received about their inclusion with the sub-sections known as *Polapohas* and *Thiyapotas*. The objection was withdrawn by the maker and all these were included as *Yogis*. There is a prejudice against rearing the *pat* silkworm as unclean, but recently eggs have been supplied by the Industries Department to some non-*Katanis*, who have reared them successfully and so far have not been outcasted.

Kayasthas (122).—From 82,000 the number of *Kayasthas* has grown to 122,000. A great part of this increase is due to *Baruis* using the name. Some other castes must also have returned *Kayastha*, but it is not possible to determine them.

Koches (229).—No special reports or representations were received about this caste or tribe. Their numbers have fluctuated since 1891, and this census shows a decrease of about 11,000. This used to be the caste into which converts from Animism were received in the *Brahmaputra Valley*; the present decrease, in face of large natural increases all over the valley, points to the disuse of this practice in some districts. Some of the new converts, instead of becoming *Saru Koches* or *Saranias*, are keeping their old tribal names and some are describing themselves as *Kshattriyas*. In *Goalpara* where the largest drop in *Koches* occurs, and where there is also a great decrease in *Rajbansis*, there appear for the first time many thousands of *Kacharis* and *Kshattriyas*. In *Darrang* the decrease is due to omission of *Mahalias*, whose figures were included with *Koches* in 1911.

Kshattriya (347).—Formerly the name of *Kshattriya* was practically synonymous with *Manipuri* in this province : outside *Manipur*, and *Cachar* and *Sylhet* where there are old *Manipuri* settlements, only a few hundred *Kshattriyas* used to be counted. In the last few years the claim to an ancestry with epic associations has been adopted or revived by leaders or outsiders for other tribes in process of conversion to Hinduism or already converted. The result is a very large increase in the number of persons returning *Kshattriya* as their caste. After deducting a genuine increase of 26,000 for *Manipur*, we have still about 70,000 *Kshattriyas* above the total of the last census to account for. *Goalpara* has nearly 49,000, where there were none in 1911: these are *Rajbansis* and *Koches*. *Kamrup* has 6,000, apparently people who were *Koches* before. *Nowgong*, *Darrang* and the *Garo Hills* show over 1,000 *Kshattriyas* each—probably *ex-Kacharis* or other *Bodo* tribes. The rest are nearly all accounted for by the *Kacharis* of *North Cachar*: this movement I have described above under *Kachari*.

Mahisyas (70) with *Dases* (31) belong to *Bengal* and the *Surma Valley*. They obtained permission before the census of 1911 to be tabulated as *Mahisya* by caste in place of their old name of *Chasi Kaibartta*. They quote *Shāstric* authority and trace descent from the union of a *Kshattriya* father and *Vaisya* mother. The numbers tabulated for the caste have been swelled greatly, and our statistics have been much confused by the return of the same caste name by the *Patnis* and *Jalia Kaibarttas*.

Sudras (166) nearly all belong to Sylhet. In 1911 less than 119,000 were censused. The large increase is due apparently to many Patnis, Jalia Kaibarttas and others having assumed the name.

Sunris are few and have been classed under Saha. There were less than 3,000 at the last census.

Sut (21) is the name taken by the Borias. See Boria above.

Tambulis are too few to appear separately in the tables in this province. In 1911 there were only 73. A petition was received from Bihar, asking for them to be classed as Nagbansi Kshatriyas.

Tantis (76).—The number has nearly doubled in the decade. This is due to increase in Tanti coolies on tea gardens, and probably also to the more accurate tabulation of the sub-caste Jugi of these immigrant Tantis of Bengal and Bihar.

Telis (39) have increased in number very slightly, as they belong mainly to Sylhet and suffered from the general depression there. They petitioned to be entered as Vaisya Tili. They are of course Hindus, but were tabulated as Animists by a misprint in 1911.

Vaisya (25) besides being the name of one of Mann's classes, is also that of an indigenous cultivating caste of Kamrup. The provincial number has increased more than sixfold, mainly on account of the movement of the Sahas or Vaisya Sahas in the Suma Valley. I am at a loss to account for the very large increase in Kamrup from 3,000 to nearly 12,000, since the number of Sahas has also increased there, and the natural growth of population in the district has been only 5·7 per cent.

Yogis (161) were tabulated at the last census as Jogi (Jugi), and their numbers have fallen by nearly 8,000. The chief reason of the decline appears to have been the separation of many of their priests, who were formerly tabulated under the general caste name. The leaders of this caste have been making great efforts to rise in the social scale, and from the beginning of the census operations have made applications about the spelling of their caste name and the use of Nath and Devanath, as titles for their men, and Devi for their women. Although the enumerators and the public were assured that names of individuals were of no value in the census record save for the temporary purpose of identification of entries before tabulation, many protests were made by members of the higher castes, especially against the use of the title Devi. As noted by Risley as long ago as 1891, no intelligible reason can be given for the treatment to which the caste is subjected by other Hindus.* The discarding of widow remarriage and alteration of certain of their marriage customs are among the methods adopted by the caste in the effort to improve its position. They have been at great pains to emphasise their ascetic origin, for which the spelling Yogi instead of Jogi or Jugi has been adopted. Their leaders have also taken exception to the description of the courtship or marriage negotiations noted in the Assam Census Report of 1911, paragraph 80; although the outsider may find in it a rather interesting and charming ceremony, it is felt to be a cause of ridicule by educated members of the caste, who deny the practice. Another point of objection was the inclusion in former years of the Sarmelas or snakecharmers and Duliyas or paliki-bearers as Jogis in Upper Assam.

Yogis' Brahmans at previous censuses were entered under the general caste name of Jogi (Jugi), but they, or a section of them, have recently claimed a different origin and have returned themselves as Brahmans; they have also assumed the Brahman titles of Sarma and Chakravartti in place of their old names of Nath or Mahanta. Some 70 in Lakhimpur have been recorded as Yogis' Brahmans. As far back as 1891, however, the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet reported that Mali- and Jugi-Brahmans in many cases omitted the Mali or Jugi prefix and entered themselves as Brahmans only.†

Of other indigenous Hindu and Animist castes of the plains there is little of change or of special value to be noted. Most have varied their numbers according to the tendency of the localities where they predominate. The *Hiras* (15), who are potters in the Brahmaputra Valley, lost somewhat in numbers, chiefly in Nowgong; there is at the same time a remarkable increase of Namasudras from 77 to 4,365 in Nowgong. Part of this may be due to immigration, but it seems that some Hiras must

* The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, page 359.

† Assam Census Report, 1891, Appendix A, ix.

139. In Subsidiary Table III are shown the variations of certain indigenous castes and races of the five upper districts of the Brahmaputra Valley. These are nearly the same castes as those shown by Mr. Allen in 1901 and Mr. McSwiney in 1911 for estimation of the rise or decline in the number of the Assamese people;* but I have had to omit some minor castes for which we have no separate figures, and also one or two castes such as the Yodis (Jogis) and the Baniyas whose figures have been obscured by other causes.

Statistics of the same castes are shown for the two last census years, and as most of the different members affected by the movements have been included, we can use the figures for the purpose of rough comparison. As there is no clear definition of the Assamese as a race or people we can do no better than to adopt this method of taking a group of typical castes and tribes and assuming, as was done in 1901 and 1911, that what holds good for these in the five main Assamese districts holds good for all. The numbers dealt with form about 53 per cent. of the whole population of the area.

ASSAMESE CASTES AND RACES.			
District.	Variation per cent.		
	1881-1901	1901-1911	1911-1921
Kamrup	+6.8	+8.4	+10
Dibrugarh	+5.0	+0.7	+0.6
Nowgong	+11.5	+14.7	+6.1
Sibsagar	+6.6	+12.3	+7.6
Lakhimpur	+12.7	+17.5	+6.4
Total	+9.4	+11.1	+6.0

to recovery after those calamities. At this census the increase of the Assamese is not as high as the natural increase in the whole valley (8.3 per cent.). This may be attributed partly to greater fecundity of the immigrant population, including those settled in villages. But it is also due to omission of some sections of castes, as explained above, and to exclusion of the two Frontier Tracts. Some of the people now in Sadiya and Balipara were included in the Darrang and Lakhimpur calculations in previous years, but as new areas are also dealt with in these frontier tracts, the statistics would have been loaded unfairly in favour of the increase factor by their inclusion.

140. It is not permissible to dilate at length on the characteristics, customs and origins of our hill tribes, since it has been ruled that ethnological studies are not to form any prominent feature of the present census. Moreover, we have in Assam a series of monographs (published under Government instructions) which are likely to stand for many years as authorities on their subjects. The series has received several additions in the last ten years. I give in the margin a list of the volumes in order of their dates of appearance. Notes on other tribes such as the Lalungs and Rabhas will be found in previous census reports; in particular, the 1891 report contains a store of information on various tribes and sub-tribes whose numbers in the province are too small to allow of separate notes in every report.

As a rule the tribes live in well-defined areas, and changes in their numbers, languages and conditions of life or habits revealed by the census have been discussed in dealing with those areas in Chapter I or under the special subjects concerned in the other chapters of this report. Movements among the Kacharis have been referred to in paragraph 137 above.

A representation was received from the head of the Diengdoh clan asking for the inclusion of all Syntengs, Lyngngams, Bhois, etc., in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills as Khasis. This was received too late for any action to be taken, Syntengs and Wars have been shown separately and the others have not, as their numbers are small.

* See paragraph 31 of Assam Census Report, 1911.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.

Variation in caste, tribe, etc., since 1881.

Caste, tribe or race.	Persons (00's omitted).					Percentage of variation (increase +, decrease -).				
	1871.	1911.	1921.	1931.	1941.	1911-1921.	1921-1931.	1931-1941.	1941-1951.	Percentage of net variation, 1881-1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Ahota ...	216	197	178	154	179	+49.3	+19.9	+15.9	-11.1	+20.1
Bauri ...	45	44	42	32	10	+2.9	+3.5	+32.1	+22.3	+356.1
Bhunya ...	51	67	50	32	5	-18.5	+31.7	+53.8	+516.8	+911.7
Bhujij ...	47	39	34	21	25	+21.1	+12.9	+65.0	-18.9	+81.1
Brahman ...	169	131	109	97	119	+21.6	+29.0	+12.8	-18.5	+31.1
Chaman ...	62	54	44	18	1	-3.1	+21.2	+111.3	+1,996.0	+6,011.7
Chutia ...	96	89	86	88	69	+8.1	+3.1	-1.7	+45.6	+59.1
Dola ...	33	34	31	38	35	-1.1	+0.7	-11.5	+7.9	-5.0
Dom ...	25	20	Tide Naliyal			-16.7	...	...	...	...
Garo ...	162	144	128	120	112	+12.2	+12.7	+6.9	+6.8	+11.1
Ghasi ...	21	15	13	9	...	+11.9	+18.8	+38.7	...	...
Gola ...	58	42	38	31	13	+35.6	+10.3	+23.1	+138.8	+313.2
Gonl ...	52	52	4	4	...	+0.6	+1,055.3	+21.2	...	...
Grababipra (Ganak) ...	14	21	21	21	21	-35.1	+1.6	-13.5	-6.7	-12.0
Indian Christian ...	129	61	34	15	5	+101.9	+90.0	+127.7	+170.2	+2,239.5
Kachari ...	223	239	210	213	286	-3.1	-4.1	-1.4	-15.0	-22.1
Kaipatta ...	92	21	85	67	37	+339.7	-75.4	+25.7	+91.1	+116.6
Kalita ...	235	222	203	223	251	+5.8	+9.3	-8.8	-12.3	-7.5
Kamar ...	47	43	34	30	12	+9.6	+28.3	+13.8	+155.1	+305.5
Kaya-tha ...	122	82	87	92	186	+18.5	-5.7	-5.9	-50.2	-21.4
Kowat ...	101	95	61	91	104	+5.6	+47.7	-29.6	-12.6	-4.1
Khasi ...	121	121	112	120	107	+2.6	+8.3	-7.3	+12.1	+15.5
Koch ...	229	212	223	261	259	-5.3	+8.5	-14.4	+4.3	-8.2
K-hattriya ...	317	251	231	72	49	+38.3	+8.6	+222.3	+76.9	+757.0
Kuki ...	73	77	56	19	11	-6.0	+38.3	+197.1	+73.8	+571.4
Kumhar ...	30	28	27	25	18	+6.5	+4.1	+5.3	+11.0	+61.6
Kurmi ...	28	25	21	13	13	+14.1	+17.9	+65.3	+0.4	+123.3
Laleng ...	41	39	36	52	48	+4.6	+10.4	-32.3	+10.0	-13.9
Loi ...	23	18	4	...	...	+26.6	+492.2	...	...	...
Lushai ...	61	80	78	...	...	-24.0	+2.5	+30,411.2	...	...
Mahimal ...	22	77	37	58	...	-71.0	+111.7	-37.1	...	...
Mahishya ...	70	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
„ Das ...	31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Malakar (Mali) ...	47	14	8	1	49	+227.1	+80.9	+616.7	-97.8	-4.2
Mech ...	81	95	75	70	58	-14.8	+26.2	+6.7	+21.8	+39.2

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Some indigenous Castes and tribes of Assam proper. (See paragraph 139).

	Kamrup.			Darrang.			Nowgong.			Sibsagar.			Lakhimpur.			Total.		
	1911.	1921.	+ or -	1911.	1921.	+ or -	1911.	1921.	+ or -	1911.	1921.	+ or -	1911.	1921.	+ or -	1911.	1921.	+ or -
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Aber ...	...	...	...	...	1	+1	...	...	...	5	...	-3	553	495	-417	556	457	-419
Ahom ...	523	525	+2	5,573	4,080	+565	3,739	4,034	+275	129,350	159,241	+9,891	60,080	62,500	+2,420	197,287	210,350	+13,063
Boria ...	1,338	485	-853	4,143	404	-3,739	8,906	64	-8,842	5,773	258	-5,515	1,277	17	-1,260	21,437	1,318	-20,119
Brahman ...	26,129	35,291	+9,162	10,784	17,093	+6,309	6,619	7,960	+1,341	17,863	20,672	+2,809	5,091	6,523	+1,432	65,921	87,520	+21,600
Chutiya ...	825	670	-155	3,511	3,369	-142	7,015	7,076	+61	57,441	61,511	+4,070	19,009	22,016	+3,007	87,581	94,642	+7,061
Dalla ...	...	...	...	519	263	-256	...	...	...	7	...	-7	458	493	+40	984	761	-223
Dom ...	822	624	-198	3,659	2,800	-859	570	531	-39	10,641	6,442	-4,199	8,317	8,150	-167	23,730	18,556	-5,174
Grahapipra ...	6,586	2,204	-4,382	5,919	4,800	-1,119	313	235	-78	2,507	2,266	-241	312	251	-61	15,657	9,285	-6,372
Garos ...	4,760	5,354	+594	450	308	-142	461	1,135	+674	479	76	-403	168	58	-82	6,550	7,019	+469
Hira ...	5,691	4,828	-863	1,495	1,371	-124	6,822	6,033	-789	11	18	+7	2	...	-2	13,931	12,265	-1,666
Kachari ...	93,981	104,018	+10,037	57,713	52,560	-5,153	13,751	12,905	-846	16,932	12,550	-4,382	27,953	10,660	-17,293	212,380	192,753	-19,627
Kalbarita ...	15,060	23,150	+8,090	167	7,967	+7,800	118	19,150	+19,032	579	17,091	+16,512	935	9,563	+8,628	19,009	76,921	+57,912
Kalita ...	130,427	137,042	+6,615	16,276	17,315	+1,039	16,945	18,362	+1,417	41,155	42,744	+1,589	5,524	7,450	+1,926	210,313	222,952	+12,639
Kajastha ...	4,991	6,024	+1,033	2,020	2,447	+427	2,714	8,333	+5,619	5,555	6,253	+698	2,531	3,629	+1,098	17,561	21,716	+4,155
Kewat ...	54,630	34,163	-20,467	13,451	15,214	+1,763	15,176	15,347	+171	23,478	27,598	+4,120	3,530	5,379	+1,849	92,583	98,001	+5,418
Khamti ...	...	...	...	46	...	-46	...	...	...	113	3	-110	1,612	1,388	-224	1,531	1,321	-210
Koch ...	103,861	98,791	-5,070	42,738	40,544	-2,194	37,046	39,443	+2,397	31,174	33,532	+2,358	7,344	8,457	+1,113	222,163	221,617	-546
Lalung ...	1,759	1,550	-209	9	...	-9	32,791	35,210	+2,419	183	4	-179	1,011	1,021	+10	35,523	37,785	+2,262
Mech ...	194	35	-159	35	27	-8	3	3	...	11	127	+116	112	19	-93	353	214	-139
Mikir ...	11,342	10,892	-450	3,213	3,379	+166	47,327	50,562	+3,235	25,009	23,331	-1,678	7	13	+6	50,568	52,977	+2,409
Miri ...	...	...	...	4,568	4,890	+322	...	1,315	+1,315	22,483	27,400	+4,917	30,424	30,045	-379	57,477	63,533	+6,056
Mishmi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	271	51	-220	271	51	-220
Mukhi ...	2,705	2,634	-71	2	...	-2	...	2	+2	2	1	-1	...	2	+2	2,703	2,689	-14
Nadiyal ...	11,779	2,781	-9,000	7,803	1,435	-6,368	20,917	3,219	-17,698	17,904	5,506	-12,398	8,062	1,954	-6,108	66,455	17,598	-48,857
Namasudra ...	11,112	12,174	+1,062	149	69	-77	77	4,363	+4,286	150	193	+43	80	100	+20	11,565	16,903	+5,338
Nat ...	958	619	-339	254	240	-14	760	795	+35	1,918	3,074	+1,156	125	230	+105	4,025	4,858	+833
Phakial ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	496	616	+120	496	616	+120
Rabha ...	17,798	19,914	+2,116	12,865	9,454	-3,411	88	200	+112	63	102	+39	95	125	+30	30,900	22,785	-8,115
Rajbansi ...	3,057	4,639	+1,582	...	151	+151	44	478	+434	63	117	+54	226	864	+638	3,450	6,269	+2,819
Saloi ...	8,224	8,657	+433	860	868	+8	35	...	-35	2	...	-2	4	3	-1	9,125	9,525	+400
Saha, Sunri ...	16,268	17,001	+733	694	755	+61	656	536	-120	143	273	+130	329	173	-156	15,130	15,738	+608
Singpho ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	454	163	-291	454	163	-291
Sonwal ...	...	...	...	...	9	+9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15,293	+15,293	...	15,292	+15,292
Sut ...	...	829	+829	...	3,945	+3,945	...	8,916	+8,916	...	6,269	+6,269	...	1,429	+1,429	...	21,331	+21,331
Total ...	519,380	531,990	+12,610	196,915	195,429	-1,486	222,689	241,059	+18,370	112,635	144,982	+32,347	157,252	199,176	+41,924	1,532,191	1,615,655	+83,464

143. There are special difficulties in eliciting complete and accurate information regarding occupation and means of subsistence. The instruction to the enumerators was :—

*Column 9 (Principal occupation of actual workers).—*Enter the principal means of livelihood of all persons who actually do work or carry on business, whether personally or by means of servants, or who live on house-rent, pension, etc. Enter the exact occupation and avoid vague terms such as "service" or "writing" or "labour". For example, in the case of labour, say whether in the fields, or in a coal mine, or jute factory, or cotton mill or lac factory, or earth-work, etc. In the case of agriculture distinguish between persons who receive rent and those who pay rent. If a person makes the article he sells he should be entered as "maker and seller" of them. Women and children who work at any occupation which helps to augment the family income must be entered in column 9 under that occupation and not in column 11. Column 2 will be blank for dependants.

This was supplemented by more detailed and locally applicable directions in the Supervisors' books of instruction and in the Census Code, but great trouble was experienced nevertheless in large classes of entry as well as in individual cases. For instance, in common language persons may be called servants, labourers, clerks, traders and so forth, but for the census greater detail is needed; and it is difficult to impress this on the enumerators and the public. The usual meaning of some vernacular terms also varies in different localities. By constant supervision and check of enumerators' work, however, and by classification of the vague entries in the abstraction offices (by comparison of the other entries for the person or by reference back to the district) it has been possible to reduce the number under order 53—Insufficiently described occupations—from 93,000 in 1911 to 46,000 at the present census. The number of labourers whose kind of labour is unknown is only about 7,600; but the contractors and business men (15,000) and clerks, cashiers and shop employees insufficiently described (20,000) are inconveniently numerous. Again, there are special difficulties in making the record of agricultural occupations, for it is necessary to distinguish landlords from agents or managers and from actual cultivators, and these again from farm servants and field labourers. All these classes overlap, and the distinction of landlords, living on rent, from ordinary cultivators is sometimes difficult in parts where the settlement is permanent but holdings are small, e.g., in Sylhet. For Table XVIII the headings prescribed by the Government of India made it necessary to distinguish three main classes of agriculturists—rent-receivers, rent-payers, and farm servants or field labourers. This gave rise to great trouble at enumeration time, since a cultivator holding directly under the Government naturally could not see why his land-revenue payment should be regarded as rent. The use of the term rent-payer was considered at the time to be the best method of separating the numbers of those who actually hold and cultivate from those on the one hand who merely live on rent and from those on the other who are merely hired workers on the land. In the Administrative Report, in agreement with most District Officers, I have recommended that at the next census other definitions or nomenclature should be adopted for the various classes of agriculturists.

Whatever words are used, however, I fear that there will always be confusion and we can only say that the total of sub-order 1(a)—ordinary cultivation—including all the groups mentioned above, makes any approach to accuracy: the totals of its subdivisions are certainly doubtful.

Another source of difficulty was the entry for women and children who work and augment the family income; the supplementary instruction about this was that if they worked regularly they should be put down in the workers' column, but if only occasionally, as dependants. It is obvious that for estimation of the regularity of the work of small boys acting as cowherds or wives helping their husbands in cultivation or in selling articles, we are dependent ultimately on the intelligence of the enumerator, although aided in many cases by the advice and supervision of the higher staff. The error from this cause cannot be estimated, and in any case is not serious, for those, entered as actual workers certainly do *some* work, however little.

The social-betterment factor enters also into the record of occupation, as it does into those of religion, caste and language: the general tendency to adopt agriculture as a more respectable occupation than the actual principal one is reflected by a heavy fall in the number of fishermen and boatmen. Partly from this cause also the number of weavers has fallen, not because weaving is disreputable but because it is associated in certain cases as a traditional occupation with a caste-name which is sought to be discarded: for instance Hindu professional weavers have always been known in certain districts as Jugis and this caste has now adopted the name Yogi. If cultivation is returned instead of weaving as the occupation, it will probably seem to many that the transformation is more complete. The same applies to many fisher-

The sub-classes are divided into 56 orders. Only slight alterations have been made from the orders of 1911 to admit of new heads 'transport by air' and 'air force,' which do not at present affect Assam, and to find room for 'other unclassified unproductive industries,' which did not appear at the first census.

The 56 orders are subdivided into 191 groups. The number of groups has been increased by 22 from the number of 1911. This is due to the expansion of certain of the old groups so as to show in detail important categories which were previously combined (such as different kinds of textile workers, mechanical transport drivers, beggars, prostitutes), and to the correction of imperfect classification.

The 191 groups are standardized for India. For Assam we have made a few further subdivisions to show occupations of local interest, *e.g.*, tea, limestone quarries, *sitalpati*-making, rearing of different kinds of silkworm. These sub-groups have been shown in the main tables under their original orders but with distinguishing letters after them in brackets.

The orders may be seen in Subsidiary Table I but for details of all the groups reference must be made to the original table (Imperial XVII).

In the preceding paragraph I have noted some of the difficulties occurring in the occupation record at enumeration. Although many of these were surmounted by the scrutiny of superior officers and by allowing a good deal of detail to be entered for description of doubtful and disputed occupations, the processes of sorting and compilation presented further difficulties. In some cases double entries such as 'eri and cotton weaver', 'jute and lac seller', were found: in such cases the first entry was taken to be that of the principal occupation. The detailed and doubtful entries had to be assigned to standard groups. For the classification of agricultural entries we had lists of the vernacular terms in common use in each district. Even so, the categories of farm servants and field labourers are confused in many cases; the value of the distinction (which was not made at the last census) is doubtful, especially in view of the inaccuracy. Much care was also needed in the classification of public servants and professional men. Separate groups are prescribed for the various specialists together with their subordinates, while there is a general group (141) for all servants of the State engaged in ordinary administrative duties and another group for village officials. Thus a Governor, a magistrate, a clerk or a chaprasi employed in a district officer's establishment, has to be entered in this group, while a forest officer, his clerks and guards, etc., come under 'pasture and agriculture', and an engineer and a doctor again under different groups, even if they are serving Government. Again mandals were classified, as in 1911, as village officials, following the practice for patwaris in Upper India, but kanungoes were put down under agriculture as 'agents or managers of landed estates.'

All classification was done under the direct supervision of the Deputy Superintendent at the Gauhati Central office, with the help of the general index supplied by the Census Commissioner, supplemented by local instructions and the vernacular lists used at last census. Group numbers were assigned only by the Chief Inspector or the Deputy Superintendent, and the Provincial Superintendent's orders were taken in all cases of doubt. It is evident that to obtain even fairly accurate figures for our main occupation table (XVII), which runs into 135 pages, very careful consideration of rulings as to terms and very close scrutiny of the sorters' tickets and compilation registers were necessary on the part of those responsible. In the end, the number of doubtful cases was reduced to a minimum and the final classification, which represents the normal functional distribution in the province, is, I believe, reasonably accurate in its main characteristics.

148. In spite of the large number of occupations tabulated, most of them are followed by very small proportions of the people. Nearly 89 per cent. of the whole population are supported by some form of agricultural or pastoral pursuit, more than three-fourths being returned as ordinary cultivators.

The ordinary rectangular or linear diagrams in which it has been customary to display the proportions in the main classes and sub-classes convey little to the reader on account of the minute space falling to each other sub-class when compared with agriculture in Assam. I have therefore given in diagram No. 11 the numbers supported by only a few of the main heads of occupation. These correspond, though not exactly, with the standard classification: ordinary cultivation, tea and fishing

proportion is also affected. Details of the proportions are shown by districts in Subsidiary Table III and the following table summarises the figures for the province and the natural divisions.

Proportion per cent. of dependants to total population supported by different occupations.

	Agriculture.	In lustry (including mines).	Commerce (including transport).	Professions.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6
ASSAM	55	39	50	63	40
Brahmaputra Valley	50	38	41	61	35
Surma Valley	65	50	58	66	47
Hills	44	22	36	52	39

It will be noticed that the Hills division shows the least, and the Surma Valley the greatest, percentage of non-workers. The figures only confirm what is a matter of common knowledge: the average woman of the hills or the Brahmaputra Valley is much more generally a helper in cultivation work than is the woman of the Surma Valley. Moreover the greater number of tea gardens in the Brahmaputra Valley makes for a greater proportion of women and children workers. The proportion of dependants to workers in Goalpara and Kamrup, however, approaches much more closely to that of the Surma Valley than is the case for the central and upper districts of the Assam Valley.

(ii) *Agriculture and animals.*

150. It has been remarked by various writers from time to time that although industrial development is needed in India, our key industry, which above all others cannot be neglected, is agriculture. Our statistics show that the population depending on agriculture is an ever-increasing one. The number supported by ordinary cultivation in Assam has risen by more than three-quarters of a million in the 10 years, the proportion being now 761 per mille against 754 in 1911. The increase is due to natural growth and to the influx of cultivating immigrants. The inset statement shows the variations for 3 census years of the chief groups falling under the sub-order, dependants and workers

Ordinary cultivation.	Population supported (000's omitted).		
	1921.	1911.	1901.
1. Income from rent	107	137	53
2. Ordinary cultivators	5,826	5,093	4,381
3. Farm servants and field labourers.	141	85	92

being combined. I have pointed out in paragraph 146 the difficulty of distinguishing the different classes of agriculturists falling under the head of ordinary cultivation; so that the figures of the subdivisions must be accepted with caution.

In any case the distinctions are not important in Assam, where nearly 96 per cent. of the ordinary agricultural population cultivate for themselves either directly under Government or as tenants under zamindars. The distinction of cultivators as 'revenue-payers' and 'rent-payers' was abolished at this census under orders of the Local Government, so that the progress of tenancy cannot be discussed. The class of landless labourers is small, and the census figures show that there has not been any great tendency of owners or cultivators to lose their land to creditors and become mere labourers. For the increase of 56,000 in the number of farm servants and field labourers is accounted for in great measure by the decrease (due to better classification) of 'labourers unspecified', who were returned in considerable numbers in 1911. Probably a certain number of cultivators, especially in the Surma Valley, have lost their holdings owing to the bad times. Some who owned their land have lost it and become tenants or mere *adhidars* (*bargadars* or *adhidars*, as paying a produce rent, have been classed as ordinary tenant-cultivators). The number of these however is small in comparison with the whole agricultural population. And it is scarcely a matter of lamentation that the number of those who live principally on the rent of land decreased by over 20 per cent. in the decade.

153. Nearly 28,000 persons live by the cultivation of other special products.

Other special products. All but 3,000 of these were counted in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where the orange groves and potato cultivation doubtless account for the greater number. This group includes fruit, vegetable, betel and areca nut growers. The reason why the numbers are so small in all districts except the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is that in most cases the growers have been recorded as ordinary cultivators with the betel or other special product as a subsidiary occupation. The orange gardens on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills are generally managed by local Wars, but at the plucking time, about January, many Sylhet men come up to work from the adjoining parts of the plains.

Jute is classed as an ordinary crop, and sugar-cane growing is generally subsidiary to rice-growing, so that persons cultivating them do not swell the 'special products' figures.

A few people are engaged in growing indigo in the Nongong district; elsewhere it has been tried but is not yet a principal occupation. A little coffee is grown on the south of the Khasi Hills, but this also is subsidiary.

154. Subsidiary Tables IV and V refer to subsidiary occupations. Nearly 29 per cent. of landlords, 12.5 per cent. of ordinary cultivators and 8 per cent. of agricultural labourers returned some subsidiary means of subsistence also. The returns show a great variety of entries. Many of them give merely a different form of agriculture as the second occupation: for instance many landlords or rent-receivers are also ordinary cultivators or rent-payers and so are many of the field labourers. Trade and general labour are the commonest forms of secondary occupation. As already explained, these returns are of little value: the entries receive the minimum of checking and are dependent largely on the whim of the enumerator. The number of cultivators owing to fishing and boating as a second occupation is less than 31,000 against 31,000 at the last census: it seems therefore that those fishermen who have adopted cultivation, or returned cultivation as their occupation, have often suppressed the fishing or boating entry altogether from both principal and subsidiary columns.

Agriculture was returned as a subsidiary occupation by only 29 per mille of the whole working population, the proportions being 25 for the Brahmaputra Valley, 45 for the Surma Valley and only 13 for the Hills. Over one-fifth (and in the Surma Valley nearly one-third) of those who live mainly by fishing appear to be cultivators also.

155. The number of cattle and buffalo breeders and herdsmen has decreased since 1911, though it is still more than double the number recorded in 1901. They are distributed over all districts, but principally in the Brahmaputra Valley and the Khasi Hills. Having regard to the large increase of Nepalese in the province, the decrease in the grazing figures is an indication of the way in which these immigrants are taking to cultivation in certain parts. There is a rise of about 4,000 in the closely connected group of milk and ghee sellers, but even this addition leaves the figures of the graziers and dairymen nearly stationary for the

last 2 censuses.

The last census of livestock in Assam, taken in 1920, gave the number of animals in the plains districts as 6,289,103, including young stock. Of these cattle were 4,885,000, buffaloes 587,000 and others (chiefly goats) 817,000.

156. This sub-order (773 recorded workers and dependants) is small but of great interest, since it includes rearers of silkworms. Two hundred and eighty-three are concerned with birds and bees—nearly all connected with the honey produced in the Khasi Hills. Of the 490 recorded under silkworms, 483 depend on *eri* or *muga* worms and only 7 on *pat* worm rearing. All these figures are obviously too low: in many cases doubtless the occupation is subsidiary to one of the textile groups or to cultivation, while admission of breeding the *pat* worm is shunned as it has usually been regarded as degrading. Nearly 90 per cent. of the silkworm breeders (actual workers) are females and nearly all are Hindus or Animists. They are spread over the Brahmaputra Valley districts (except Lakhimpur) and Manipur, being most numerous in Sibsagar and Darrang.

Persons supported
(000's omitted).

1921	...	...	...	44
1911	...	...	...	47
1901	...	...	...	20

young men, if poor, go to sea. The places supplying the largest numbers are the sadr; Bishwanath and Balaganj thanas of North Sylhet, Chaualis pargana in South Sylhet, Jaldhup in Karimganj, Atuaian pargana in Sunamganj and Nabiganj thana in Habiganj subdivision. In Sunamganj they are said to go out for about 6 to 8 months every year between the ages of 18 and 50. In other parts they only return once in every 2 or 3 years. The usual extent of savings brought home is Rs. 200 or Rs. 300, but some bring Rs. 500 or Rs. 1,000, and those who become serangs come back as rich men.

Reports vary as to the effect of foreign service and travel on the men. Their ideas are certainly enlarged and their standards of life altered, though not always for the better. Many become extravagant *knuts* and merely squander their money until they have to go to sea again to get more. One serang or tindal whom I met in the interior while on tour produced a suit-case containing several bottles of scent, which he had brought from Marseilles and which he seemed to regard as his greatest treasure; he used the scent lavishly on himself and was with difficulty prevented from smothering the Census Superintendent with it!

Others again, of the more sober section, use their savings for the repayment of debt and the purchase of land. All appear to settle down finally as cultivators. There is no doubt that this profession affords a small but growing outlet for some part of the surplus population of Sylhet and it will be matter for satisfaction if it continues to bring a flow of outside money similar to that which found its way to the district during the war. No branch of the Seamen's Union or Association exists in the province.

(v) *Trade and Commerce.*

162. As the inset statement shows, having regard to the increase of population

Number supported by Trade.					
		1921.		1911.	
		Actual (000's omitted).	Per mille.	Actual (000's omitted).	Per mille.
Total	...	268	33·6	245	34·6
Food stuffs	...	185	23·2	164	3·4
Textiles	...	21	2·6	15	2·2
All other kinds.		62	7·8	66	00

there has been no startling variation in the numbers subsisting on trade. Trade in food-stuffs absorbs more than two-thirds of the whole trade population; textiles are next in importance and here the numbers are kept up partly by the large proportion of Manipuri women who sell cloth in the State.

Among traders in food, fish dealers form the largest proportion; these and milk or *ghee* sellers have already been mentioned (paragraphs 155 and 157). Groceries, grain and pulse, vegetables and betel-nut, *gur* and sweetmeat selling occupy some 88,000 or over 1 per cent. of the whole population.

The 'others' shown in the statement include a variety of trades each supporting only a few hundreds or thousands: variations since 1901 in the orders may be seen from Subsidiary Table VII. Among these a drop of 1,700 in the number dependent on banking and exchange and credit possibly indicates a welcome decrease of moneylenders, and of the bogus insurance agents who were so busy a few years ago; unfortunately we have no separate figures for these subdivisions of the group. The number under trade in metals has increased more than fourfold; combined with the decrease of about 3,000 recorded in the number supported by metal industries, this points to decline in the local iron and brass industries and increased use of imported aluminium and enamel ware and iron implements.

The number of general storekeepers and 'shopkeepers otherwise unspecified' has varied little; nearly 16,000 persons are now supported under this head. Itinerant pedlars have increased from 76 to 911, supporting 1,450 people: nearly all of these were censused in the Brahmaputra Valley, and the majority are women.

Of the natural divisions, the Surma Valley has the greatest trade population, 44 per mille, against only 28 in the Brahmaputra Valley and 24 in the Hills. This is due to the great preponderance of fish dealers in the Surma Valley.

163. The external trade of the province both rail and river borne—mainly with Calcutta and other parts of Bengal—and trade with the frontier, is under a regular system of registration, and the Industries publishes annual and triennial reports on the subject;

165. Most of the headquarters markets sit daily for sale of fresh produce, such as fish and vegetables, when the attendance is not large—perhaps 200 or 300. Weekly or bi-weekly however there is a bazar day proper, when trade is much brisker and the attendance becomes often 2,000 or 3,000. In the Brahmaputra Valley, Cachar and the Hills there is a considerable number of Municipal, Local Board and other publicly owned markets. In Sylhet all are privately owned. Of the 897 regular markets reported, 60 are under Municipal or Local Board control and 119 under Government or other public ownership. The last number includes many *hâts* owned by Siems in the Khasi Hills.

The annexed statement shows for certain districts the area and population

District.	Actual number of markets.	Number of markets per 100 000 population.	Average number of square miles served by a market.
Goalpara	110	1+	36
Kamrup	41	5	0+
Darrang	57	12	51
Nowgong	43	11	86
Cachar Plains	118	2+	17
Sylhet	313	15	15
Khasi and Jaintia Hills.	104	43	58
Garo Hills	27	15	116

served by rural markets of all classes. The Sylhet total excludes Karimganj Subdivision from which no report was received, and some tea-garden *hâts* have been omitted, but the figures serve for a rough comparison. It will be noticed that the Surma Valley markets serve a smaller area and population than do those of the Brahmaputra Valley. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Garo Hills have numbers of regular markets but in the other hill districts they hardly exist, as the families are generally self-supporting and when any commodity runs short it can be borrowed from a neighbouring household until the next harvest. Thus there are only 3 markets reported from the Lushai Hills, four from North Ca-

char, and four in the Naga Hills, all at the larger centres and under public ownership. In Manipur these enquiries were not made.

Only about 30 of the regular markets are daily. Of the rest, rather more than half sit bi-weekly and less than half weekly. In the Khasi Hills "weekly" often means every 8th day and bi-weekly every 4th day. A few sit 3 times a week. There is seldom much business in the early morning; midday and afternoon are often the busiest times, especially in tea-garden areas where the coolies have a leave day every week; in ordinary rural areas the greatest throng often comes in the late afternoon or evening, when cultivators are able to attend after doing a day's work. In most areas the dry season brings the largest concourse, but in areas with a good deal of water, the busiest time of year may be the rains. Prices of articles other than agricultural produce do not generally vary greatly at different seasons, but bad communications to distant centres may cause a rise of 20 or 30 per cent. in the rains or just after. Some markets are affected adversely by others a few miles away, or connected by railway; but as a rule the weekly or bi-weekly bazar days are fixed so as not to clash and so as to enable the same traders and purchasers to attend two or three different bazars in the same area. A certain number of new *hâts* have been started to provide for new population, e.g., for the Bhutiyas or Eastern Bengal settlers in the Assam Valley districts.

166. At most of the regular markets every necessity and a good many of the luxuries of life can be bought and sold. In or near hill, forest or frontier areas special products such as spears, raw cotton, lac and other forest produce are dealt in; dogs are sold (males for eating, females for breeding—price from Re. 1 to Rs. 3) at Mokokchung in the Naga Hills and at Lakhipur bazar in Cachar; also at Damra in Goalpara, a market attended by the Garos.

Generally however rice and other agricultural produce, fresh and dried fish, vegetables and fruits, salt and groceries, tobacco and betel, oil and *gur*, cloth and yarn, implements and utensils, fancy and miscellaneous articles are the things to be found in all markets. For immediate comfort parched or fried grain, sweetmeats and sometimes tea, milk and sugar may be had. In parts of the Khasi Hills tea shops are a speciality: at the Bara Bazar at Shillong, it has been calculated that there are 40 tea stalls, each serving an average of 48 cups of tea. The Khasi women and girls make a profit of only about 9 annas from each tea-shop or stall on the market day.

There is no reason to doubt the figures as a general indication of conditions, though they may not be accurate in detail. The North Lakhimpur figures, however, were obtained by actual counting of pieces sold on market days. From the statement it will be seen that at the time of the enquiry (shortly before the census) English cloth still held generally over half the trade and Bombay was a good second and Japan a fair third. Since the enquiry fiscal and political conditions have altered and it may be that the proportions have changed somewhat. The Indian handwoven cloth, other than local, is generally represented by *Dacca lungis* and *saris*, sold by Dacca merchants. In regard to handwoven cloth, it should be noted that while weaving is almost universal among the Assamese, they rarely weave for sale and a great part of what is sold is silk.

Stocks in remote shops are generally sufficient for several months, but, as a rule, stocks of cloth and dry goods are not kept for more than one to two months' needs. For grain a fortnight's supply is usual.

The turnover in large permanent shops may amount to several hundreds, or even thousands, of rupees in a week: Thus a cloth shop in Lakhimpur (Cachar) has a turnover of Rs. 400 with a profit of 2 annas in the rupee; a brass shop turned over Rs. 300 at 1 anna in the rupee profit per week; a grain shop at Doom-Dooma sold Rs. 1,700 worth with 1 anna per rupee profit in a week; a miscellaneous goods shop at Dhubri turned over Rs. 750 worth of goods at 8 per cent. profit.

The smaller stallholders and producer-sellers make generally higher profits for their small stock-in-trade: a dried-fish seller makes 6 annas per rupee on total sales of 5 rupees and a betel-nut seller 2 annas on the same value of stock, per market day at Lakhimpur.

Generally profits of the retailer vary from 1 anna to 4 annas and sometimes 6 annas in the rupee. Such profits are in addition to the wholesaler's profit on his sale to the retailer, but shop or stall rent and establishment charges have to be paid out of the retail profit. The profit made on sale of a tin of kerosene oil varies from the mere value of the empty tin (6 to 9 annas) to 25 per cent. *plus* the tin.

For permanent shops and stalls a frontage or area rent is charged by the owner or lessee of the market. For instance at Dhubri from Rs. 6 to Rs. 15 per month is the rent of permanent stalls let by the Municipality. At Hailakandi 8 annas and at Lakhimpur Re. 1-8 per cubit of frontage are rates of annual shop rents. The Railway Company for its market sites at Margherita takes from annas 8 to Re. 1-4 per square yard per month. Rates charged by private owners are sometimes even higher than these. Temporary stalls are generally rented at from 1 to 4 annas per market day; local sellers carrying in their goods pay 1 pice toll per bundle, or 2 pice for a man's load. For livestock a market-due per head is taken, such as 2 annas for buffaloes and 1 anna or less for smaller animals.

Money changers charge at different rates for changing notes and silver. In some places no charge is made for changing notes. The rate for changing a silver rupee is almost always 1 pice; at Tura, however it is 2 pice, while nothing is charged for notes. At Ohhaygaon in Kamrup, while 1 pice is charged for a silver rupee, 2 pice must be paid to get change for a one-rupee note.

Ten-rupee notes cost from 10 pice to 5 annas, and 100 rupee notes from 4 annas to 3 rupees to change.

Small shopkeepers generally obtain their stocks from larger local merchants—rarely from a distance—at a more favourable price than the large man charges to the public. Hence the small man is, as a rule, not being crushed out by the big seller. For a few markets the larger shopkeepers send out stocks for sale on bazar days from their main shops, and here the small trader suffers somewhat. Accounts kept by the smaller shopkeepers are of the roughest, and often none at all are kept.

Trade agents are generally only employed by large buying firms at special seasons for special crops, *e.g.*, for cotton from the hills and lac from the hills and lower Assam, and for jute and mustard. Traders from Bengal come in boats and buy quantities of rice from the interior in the Surma Valley, after the winter harvest. Generally all products for export are bought by the regular Kayas or Marwari traders of the Brahmaputra Valley. Frequently money is advanced on the standing crops,

Thus we find that industry, including mines, supports only 205,000 persons or

about 2½ per cent. of the population of Assam.

Let this be contrasted with Madras (which the

Director of Industries of that Presidency calls

industrially backward), with 13 per cent.

dependent on industry, and we can see how little

Assam has to do as yet with any productive

means of subsistence except agriculture and tea.

Industries. Number supported.			Actual (000's omitted).	Percent- age of In- dustrial total.
—				
TOTAL	...	...	205	100
Minerals	...	...	11	5
Textiles	...	...	49	24
Wood	...	...	36	18
Metals	...	...	10	5
Ceramics	...	...	15	7
Food	...	...	20	10
Dress	...	...	34	16
Building	...	...	5	3
Gold and silversmithy	...	...	14	7
Others	...	...	11	5

More than two-thirds of the 20,000 under food industries are paddy huskers and flour grinders: the majority of these are women workers in the Surma Valley and Goalpara. The rest of the group comprises sweetmeat makers, bakers, grain parchers, distillers and a few others. All of the 1,700 distillers and brewers are in the Khasi Hills and Manipur, as the outstill system is not in force elsewhere, while brewing of rice beer is generally a household activity, and not a business, for hill tribes. The order "Industries of dress and toilet" is made up mainly of 13,000 barbers, 10,000 tailors, 7,000 washermen and 2,000 shoemakers, in each case dependants being included with workers. "Others" includes over 4,000 sweepers and scavengers. Building means only those engaged in *pucca* work, such as masons and lime burners. Those engaged in *kacha* building, thatching and similar work, are shown under wood industries, which with textiles and ceramics are discussed in paragraphs 170-172.

168. The number censused as employed or dependent on coal mines was 6,700—nearly all in Lakhimpur and the Naga Hills, where a new colliery has been opened in the decade. By petroleum wells 3,100 are supported, five-sixths of the total being in Lakhimpur at the Digboi wells and the rest in Cachar, near Badarpur, where crude oil extraction has been started in the decade.

Coal and petroleum were included in one group at the last census: the combined figures are now nearly double than those of 1911, on account of the new extensions mentioned.

Limestone workers and their dependants have decreased from about 700 to 400. These are nearly all in the Khasi Hills. The district returns of output of the quarries also show some decrease, thus confirming the evidence of decline shown by the census figures.

A corundum mine was started in the Khasi Hills during the war and the output was considerable. This has now declined and the number supported is small.

Salt is produced in the Manipur State and in the Naga Hills (but mostly beyond the frontier). The number engaged in the industry has dropped from 700 to 200.

There are only a few other industries organized in a small way with factories. These will be noticed in the next paragraph. Over 6,000 sawyers were censused, but it is impossible to separate the mill workers from the ordinary hand sawyer parties included in the census figures. The same applies to oil pressing and rice husking, but in any case very few of the total workers in the last two categories are factory employees, as the concerns are few and small.

169. The ordinary census returns of occupation were supplemented by an industrial census taken on special forms filled in by managers of concerns with particulars of their staff, products and power employed, if any. A factory was defined as an establishment

Organised Industries—
Coal mines.
Petroleum wells.

Limestone.
Corundum.
Salt.

Sawmills.
Mustard oil and rice mills.

The industrial census.

From the statement it will be seen that cotton weaving pays little as compared with silk. There is usually a ready market for Assam silk and though in the Assam Valley it is generally only for home use that weaving is carried on, it is clear that it holds great possibilities of profit to those who wish for it provided they rear and spin or can afford to buy their own thread without advances from middlemen. Regular weavers work from 8 to 10 hours a day.

Dye or dyed thread is generally bought from the bazars, when colour is wanted. Nowadays it is generally only the hillmen or cognate tribes who make their own dye. In Kamrup a green dye is made by the Kacharis, who do not generally disclose its secret. The Mikirs use lac and hill creepers; Nagas, madder (wild) and hill indigo (*Strobilanthes flaccidifolius*—cultivated); Lushais both bazar dyes and home-prepared hill indigo. The Bhois on the north of the Khasi Hills use turmeric for yellow, lac for red and iron ore for black dyes, in each case the bark of some trees being added and the mixture boiled three times with the thread. Miris in North Lakhimpur dye *muga* thread by boiling with part of the core of the jack-fruit tree. The length of the processes required to make the hill dyes permanent appears to be inducing a tendency to buy imported dyes even for local thread.

The Chins who have immigrated from Burma to the Lushai Hills (Lungleh) have brought with them the art of weaving most beautiful and artistic cloths.

One Garo has shewn enterprise by applying water-power by a wheel to cotton ginning and the Deputy Commissioner notes that, though small as yet, the venture promises to be successful.

172. The numbers of oil *ghanis* and sugarcane mills—both usually of the most primitive kind—are a measure of the large extent to which the cultivator, either Assamese or *ex-coolie*, extracts his own products. The numbers recorded at the main census for makers of *gur* and for vegetable oil manufacture are but 38 and 1,991 respectively: it seems therefore that these two classes have (properly) described themselves generally as cultivators though some may be entered as sellers. These industries are not declining, because cultivation is extending and demand is high.

There are over 2,000 potters' workshops, and there should be a ready market for pottery, yet imported articles are in many parts replacing earthenware. The total number supported by pottery has decreased by 2,000 to about 13,500; Goalpara, Darrang and the Garo Hills have increases and all the other districts in the province share the decrease. Upcountrymen have settled as potters in several centres in Dibrugarh subdivision, and the demand for Sibsagar earthenware has lessened in consequence.

Brass has suffered, as explained above, more than bell metal, because the raw material of the latter industry consists of old and broken vessels found in India. In Sibsagar, however, the bell metal industry is reported to have declined. At Sarmbari in Kamrup bell metal articles, though of no great variety, show considerable artistic merit.

The standard of life of the garden workers is said to have improved somewhat and then to have fallen again at the end of the decade. On the Upper Brahmaputra Valley gardens, however, the standard is considered even now to be slightly above the pre-war standard. The Labour Committee found that wage increases had generally not been commensurate with the rise in the cost of living. Mr. Wood, Superintendent of Doom-Dooma Tea Company and Honorary Magistrate, states that though wages have risen by 50 per cent., more money is now spent on drink and so the relative position of the coolie remains the same although the rise in prices is partly discounted by issue of cheap rice as well as by the wage-increase.

Local labour for tea gardens has been discussed in paragraph 152 above.

The coal mines, oil wells and sawmills of Upper Assam recruit labour by the same agency as do tea gardens, but other classes such as Makranis and Nepalis on the mines, and settled *ex-coolies* in the oil field, are also employed. There is no shortage of labour.

The manager of the Assam Oil Company mentions by way of illustration of the popularity of work on the oil wells that when he sends down for 40 men, 200 want to come. A few Assamese local labourers are found in the oil industry. These are men who wish to learn skilled artisans' work: nevertheless, although every inducement is given to local men to learn a trade and earn higher pay, the skilled workers employed are generally men who have been trained elsewhere than at Digboi oil wells.

An unskilled coal-miner earns from 10 to 13 annas a day; in some cases the rise of wages in the decade amounts to 100 per cent., and the miner's standard of living has risen. This is also reflected in the family budgets of the miners, which show more spent on comforts and luxuries than do most other workers' budgets.

At Digboi, male oil-well workers earn Rs. 14 and women Rs. 8 a month, *plus* overtime. Their rise in wages has been only 16½ per cent. in the decade.

The Lakhipur sawmills in Cachar get their labourers from the same source as do the tea gardens, but the Badarpur oil wells employ chiefly local men. These (men of Cachar) are found to be the best workers. Their average wages are Rs. 12 a month to start with and they get an increase of Re. 1 a month every year. The increase in rate of wages at these oil wells has been from 25 to 50 per cent.

The Cachar sawmills rate for unskilled labour is 4 annas a day to start with, but this rises to 5½ annas after a month.

In tea and the other industries which obtain labour from outside, the aim is generally to recruit families—for the men are then more contented, and women and children also work.

Among outside or non-organized labour, *e.g.*, earth workers, potters, domestic servants, there has generally been a rise in daily wages of from 50 to 100 per cent., corresponding with the rise in prices, but the standard of life of the workers has not improved. A general labourer getting 5 or 6 annas a day in Kamrup in 1911, could get from 10 to 12 annas in 1921; in Sylhet a domestic servant who was paid Rs. 3 *plus* food in 1911 must be paid Rs. 6 with food in 1921. In the Khasi Hills a skilled carpenter's wages have risen from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per day, and a Public Works Department *coolie's* wages from 8 annas to 12 annas (male) or from 4 or 5 annas to 8 or 10 annas (female). A Goalpara agricultural labourer can now get 8 annas against 6 annas in 1911. The piece-work rates for earth workers have also risen in similar measure. On the whole it seems that casual and general labourers have suffered less from the rise in prices than have other food-buying classes.

heavily, in addition to the textiles, by the numbers employed in tea and ordinary cultivation, where the restrictions have not applied seriously so far; hence, in spite of the fall in the general sex-ratio (Chapter VI), the proportion of women to men working in all occupations taken together is almost stationary. The tables show a slight rise, but this is accounted for by the entry of Naga Hills women cultivators these were wrongly classed as dependants in 1911.

Fish selling is the most prominent instance of restriction, but in the Surma Valley it is reported also that women of the Namasudra, Patui and Mali castes are not allowed to work in the fields so freely as before, and a movement by the Manipuris to stop their women going to market was also started in Cachar. One or two Deputy Commissioners of tea districts have reported a tendency among garden coolies also to stop their women working when the men are earning enough by themselves.

Again, Assamese widows sometimes weave for sale where married and unmarried ones do not. It may be hoped that all these indications point more to a feeling of shame among the men, that they should be thought unable to work sufficiently hard to support their women folk, than to any other reason such as the occupations themselves being considered degrading.

175. Children are employed in most industries when they reach an age at which their work begins to be of any profit. Subsidiary Table IX shows the proportion of children employed to adults. Though wages are small, work is generally healthy and children are not sweated—except perhaps in some cases of domestic service—and in the present educational and economic state of the province the effect on the children appears to be good. Many children do not care for school, even when schools are provided, and their intelligence is developed by light work at the most impressionable ages.

In cultivating families boys begin to tend cattle from about 7 years old and learn to plough at 10 or 11. Girls help in weaving at home. On tea gardens children begin at about the age of 8 and are employed on work such as insects gathering, weeding and light forking, or in the tea house, usually for 3 or 4 hours in the morning and sometimes for 2 or 3 in the afternoon.

At the oil refineries children work longer hours, from 7 to 12 o'clock in the forenoon and 1 to 5 in the afternoon, soldering tins. In the mines they work regularly from 11 years onwards, doing the standard hours of the older people but having a rest interval: they do mud-plastering and other light work and are also used as messengers. Their wages in all industries vary from one-third to five-eighths of those earned by adults. In the Borjan colliery there are only 6 children at work, so that there is evidently no forcing by the management.

Boys in domestic service get from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 a month with free food, where an adult may earn Rs. 6 or Rs. 8 with the same concession.

176. In Imperial Table XXI the occupations returned by members of certain castes are set out for comparison with the total numbers of the castes and their traditional occupations.

The proportions returning their traditional callings are usually very low except in the case of cultivators. Thus we find that of 9,715 working Nadiyals (i.e. the remnant who did not adopt another caste name) only 2,225 returned fishing or fish trading as their chief means of livelihood: nearly all the rest were entered as cultivators, although 1,482 of these had fishing as a subsidiary occupation.

Of 61,000 working Yogis about 3,600 had weaving as principal and 3,400 as subsidiary occupation. The great majority of the rest come under cultivation.

The Kewats are an exception; about 89 per cent. of the 13,000 workers are returned as fishermen.

The same tendency to abandon traditional callings such as fishing, gold pottery, labour and scavenging, which are looked down on by the higher classes, continues everywhere, and among both Hindus and Muhammedans Yogis have more often abandoned weaving because cultivation is found more paying. Brahmans also have largely abandoned religious work as lucrative. Some Brahmans from Dibrugarh, for example, have gone to learn agriculture and even tanning.

From North Sylhet the Census Officer notes that some Halwa Dawa or 11 are giving up cultivation for carpentry; this movement however is not so appear in the statistics. In some cases in the Brahmaputra Valley these

Taxes cannot be said to be heavy. There is very little indirect taxation. The total amount of direct taxes, central, provincial and local borne by the people of Assam (excluding Manipur) last year was about Rs. 124 lakhs, as shown in the provincial budget statement ; this works out at an average annual taxation total of about Rs. 7-12 per household, or one rupee ten annas per head of the population. I have not included the latest duties on imported cloth and yarn in this estimate : if this be done the household figure may go to Rs. 10 or more and the individual average to over Rs. 2 per annum.

The average income of the people cannot be estimated with any exactitude in terms of money in an agricultural country. By a rough calculation from the outturns of crops grown and the other productions of the province in 1921-22, with the prices prevailing at the principal marts, it might be estimated at the equivalent of about Rs. 56 per head per annum, but in any case the cultivators who form the great bulk of the population are less dependent on money rates than on the amount of outturn of rice and other crops for their food supply. In Appendix G I have shown the calculation. Where I have made estimates (i.e., in cases other than those of principal crops whose outturn is estimated by the Director of Agriculture), I have put them at an extremely low figure for safety ; but perhaps few will deny that the values of cloth, silk, fish and other secondary products of the province are always a good deal greater than the sums I have noted. It must never be forgotten, however, that the cultivators have actually no such money income as shown : their income is mainly produce.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.

General distribution by occupation—concluded.

Class, sub-class and order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.		Percentage in each class, sub-class and order of	
	Persons supported.	Actual workers.	Actual workers.	Dependants.
1	2	3	4	5
V.—TRADE	336	158	47	53
24. Banks, Establishments of credits exchange and Insurance	6	2	41	59
25. Brokerage, Commissions and export	1	...	29	71
26. Trade in Textile	26	16	60	40
27. Trade in skins, leathers, furs	9	4	45	55
28. Trade in wood	8	4	53	47
29. Trade in Metals... ..	3	2	50	50
30. Trade in pottery, bricks, tiles	1	1	35	65
31. Trade in Chemical products	2	1	46	54
32. Hotel, Cafes, restaurants	2	1	52	48
33. Other trade in food-stuffs	230	104	45	55
34. Trade in clothing and toilet articles	1	1	48	52
35. Trade in furniture	8	3	41	59
36. Trade in building materials	1	...	51	49
37. Trade in means of transport	3	2	58	42
38. Trade in fuel	2	1	43	57
39. Trade in articles of luxuries and those pertaining to letters and the Arts and the Sciences	10	5	48	52
40. Trade of other sorts	23	11	51	49
C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.	165	64	39	61
VI.—PUBLIC FORCE	22	11	51	49
41. Army	1	1	69	31
42. Navy ... ..	...	...	...	100
44. Police	21	10	50	50
VII.—(45) PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION	20	7	35	65
VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS	123	43	37	63
46. Religion	67	23	34	66
47. Law	8	2	27	73
48. Medicine	16	6	38	62
49. Instruction	20	9	45	55
50. Letter and sciences	12	6	50	50
D.—MISCELLANEOUS	209	132	63	37
IX.—(51) PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME	5	2	40	60
X.—(52) DOMESTIC SERVICE	65	41	63	37
XI.—(53) INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATION	57	31	54	46
XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE	22	11	50	50
54. Inmates of jails, etc.	4	2	50	50
55. Beggars, Vagrants, Prostitutes	11	5	45	55
56. Other unclassified non-productive Industries	...	...	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.

Distribution of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and professional population in Natural Divisions and Districts.

DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.			AGRICULTURE. [ORDER I(a) 1(b)].				INDUSTRY (INCLUDING MINES). SUB-CLASSES II AND III.					
			Population supported by Agriculture.	Proportion of agricultural population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on agricul- tural population of		Population supported by Industry.	Proportion of industrial population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on indus- trial population of			
					Actual workers.	Dependants.			Actual workers.	Dependants.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				
ASSAM	7,027,871	880	45	55	205,226	25	61	39				
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY ...	3,444,440	893	50	50	77,039	20	62	38				
Goalpara	679,447	891	37	63	14,864	19	57	43				
Kamrup	638,024	837	38	62	20,244	26	54	46				
Darrang	433,655	907	54	46	6,720	14	64	36				
Nowgong	364,941	917	46	54	5,865	15	73	27				
Sibsagar	767,552	932	60	40	9,622	12	58	42				
Lakhimpur	526,761	896	64	36	17,811	30	69	31				
Sadiya	31,965	809	38	62	1,569	40	65	35				
Balipara	2,095	549	68	32	344	90	96	4				
SURMA VALLEY	2,625,186	864	35	65	75,832	25	50	50				
Cachar Plains	452,526	904	44	56	10,652	21	59	41				
Sylhet	2,173,660	855	33	67	65,180	26	48	52				
HILLS	957,245	876	56	44	52,355	48	78	22				
Garohills	173,076	966	57	43	906	5	54	46				
North Cachar Hills	23,942	895	58	42	228	9	53	48				
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	200,781	825	58	42	9,497	39	59	41				
Naga Hills	1,54,572	960	64	36	1,719	11	78	22				
Lushai Hills	92,915	944	57	43	407	4	54	46				
Manipur	311,959	812	49	51	39,598	103	84	16				
DISTRICT AND NATURAL DIVISION.	COMMERCE INCLUDING TRANSPORT. SUB-CLASSES IV AND V.				PROFESSIONS. SUB-CLASS VIII.				OTHERS.			
	Population supported by Commerce.	Proportion of commercial population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on commercial population of		Population supported by Professions.	Proportion of professional population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on professional population of		Population supported by Others.	Proportion of other occupa- tional population per 1,000 of district population.	Percentage on other occupa- tional popula- tion.	
			Actual workers.	Dependants.			Actual workers.	Dependants.			Actual workers.	Dependants.
1	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
ASSAM	347,805	43	50	50	98,506	12	37	63	310,833	39	60	40
BRAHMAPUTRA VAL- LEY.	147,922	38	56	44	36,166	10	39	61	150,325	39	65	35
Goalpara	34,378	45	58	42	5,132	7	43	57	28,702	38	62	38
Kamrup... ..	45,697	60	49	51	15,365	20	31	69	43,341	57	59	41
Darrang... ..	12,366	26	63	37	2,158	5	45	55	23,036	48	72	28
Nowgong	13,099	33	63	37	2,458	6	38	62	11,558	29	73	27
Sibsagar	20,063	24	61	39	6,298	8	41	59	19,602	24	69	31
Lakhimpur	19,587	33	58	42	4,295	7	55	45	19,841	34	65	35
Sadiya	2,724	69	72	28	451	11	47	53	2,822	71	60	40
Balipara	8	2	100	...	9	2	56	44	1,363	357	76	24
SURMA VALLEY	161,690	53	42	58	52,701	17	34	66	125,416	41	53	47
Cachar Plains	16,325	33	58	42	5,423	11	43	57	15,558	31	60	40
Sylhet	145,365	57	40	60	47,278	19	33	67	109,858	43	52	48
HILLS	38,193	35	64	36	9,639	9	48	52	35,097	32	61	39
Garohills	2,302	13	65	35	347	2	62	38	2,509	14	70	20
North Cachar Hills... ..	1,903	71	61	39	116	4	72	28	555	21	62	38
Khasi and Jaintia Hills	14,671	60	58	42	2,624	11	50	50	15,690	65	66	34
Naga Hills	1,381	8	78	22	451	3	61	39	2,837	18	62	38
Lushai Hills	1,125	12	53	47	573	6	57	63	3,386	34	43	57
Manipur	16,811	44	69	31	5,528	15	46	54	10	26	...	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.

Occupations combined with agriculture (where agriculture is the principal occupation).

Landlords (Rent-receivers).		Cultivators (Rent-payers).		Farm servants and field labourers.	
Subsidiary occupation.	No. per 10,000 who follow it.	Subsidiary occupation.	No. per 10,000 who follow it.	Subsidiary occupation.	No. per 10,000 who follow it.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Total ...	2,892	Total ...	1,250	Total ...	797
Rent-payers ...	720	Rent-receivers ...	34	Rent-receivers ...	11
Agricultural labourers ...	63	Agricultural labourers ...	29	Rent-payers ...	163
Government servants of all kinds.	166	General labourers ...	262	General labourers ...	141
Money-lenders and grain dealers.	181	Government servants of all kinds.	16	Village watchmen ...	8
Other traders of all kinds.	489	Money-lenders and grain dealers.	12	Cattle breeders and milkmen	8
Others ...	1,374	Other traders of all kinds.	271	Fishermen and boatmen	43
		Fishermen and boatmen	127	Traders of all kinds ...	24
		Cattle breeders and milkmen	13	Weavers ...	46
		Village watchmen ...	12	Others ...	345
		Weavers ...	119		
		Carpenters ...	15		
		Potters ...	13		
		Blacksmiths ...	8		
		Others ...	274		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.

Occupations of females by sub-classes, and selected orders and groups—concluded.

Group No.	Occupation.	Number of actual workers.		Number of females per 1,000 males.
		Males.	Females.	
1	2	3	4	5
	VIII.—PROFESSIONS AND LIBERAL ARTS ...	34,725	1,808	52
	46.— <i>Religion</i> ...	17,280	737	43
	48.— <i>Medicine</i> ...	4,593	320	70
172	Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	1,041	225	216
	49.— <i>Instruction</i> ...	6,580	576	88
	D.—MISCELLANEOUS ...	71,689	33,439	466
	IX.—(ORDER 51)—PERSONS LIVING ON THEIR INCOME. (Proprietors other than of agricultural land, fund and scholarship holders and pensioners).	1,240	105	85
	X.—(ORDER 52)—DOMESTIC SERVICE ...	29,101	7,791	268
181	Cooks, water-carriers, doorkeepers, watchmen and other in-door servants.	27,261	7,781	285
	XI.—(ORDER 53)—INSUFFICIENTLY DESCRIBED OCCUPATIONS. (General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation).	21,708	2,893	133
187	Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified ...	2,920	1,961	672
	XII.—UNPRODUCTIVE ...	19,615	22,650	1,153
	55.— <i>Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes</i> ...	16,476	22,519	1,367
189	Beggars, vagrants, witches, wizards, etc. ...	16,472	21,844	1,326
190	Procurers and prostitutes ...	4	675	1,68,750

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.

Selected Occupations, 1921, 1911 and 1901—continued.

Group No.	Occupation.	Population supported in 1921.	Population supported in 1911.	Population supported in 1901.	Percentage of variation in 1921-1911.	Percentage of variation in 1911-1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49	Workers in brass, copper and bell metal.	2,274	4,957	4,207	— 54.1	+ 17.8
	10.—Ceramics	14,951	16,795	12,690	— 10.8	+ 32.3
	11.—Chemical products properly so called, and analogous.	2,328	5,426	3,446	— 57.1	+ 57.5
	12.—Food industry	20,414	19,371	23,965	+ 5.4	— 19.2
65	Rice pounders and husker and flour grinders.	14,251	13,637	17,721	+ 4.6	— 23.0
	13.—Industries of dress and the toilet.	33,569	36,090	32,256	— 7.5	+ 11.9
	14.—Furniture industries ...	715	73	80	+ 879.5	— 8.8
	15.—Building industries ...	5,372	5,958	7,055	— 40.0	+ 27.0
	16.—Construction of means of transport.	1,071	640	2,122	+67.3	—69.8
93	17.—Production and transmission of physical forces heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.	32	4	1	+700	+300
	18.—Other Miscellaneous and undefined Industries.	19,272	21,139	19,098	—8.8	+10.7
	IV.—TRANSPORT	79,434	76,600	69,636	+ 3.7	+10.0
	20.—Transport by water ...	18,120	23,841	13,692	—23.9	+ 74.1
	21.—Transport by road ...	42,145	34,268	22,628	+23	+ 51.4
	22.—Transport by rail ...	14,297	13,477	30,044	+ 6.1	— 55.1
	V.—TRADE	268,371	244,558	247,462	+ 9.7	— 1.2
121	24.—Banks, establishment of credit, exchanges and Insurance.	4,722	6,408	3,015	—26.3	+112.5
122	25.—Brokerage, commission and export.	590	413	762	+42.9	— 45.6
123	26.—Trade in textile ...	21,099	15,323	11,923	+37.7	+ 28.5
124	27.—Trade in skins, leather, and furs.	7,064	8,049	5,108*	—12.2	+ 57.6
125	28.—Trade in wood ...	6,066	3,519	3,623*	+72.4	— 2.9
126	29.—Trade in metals ...	2,454	659	192	+272.4	+243.2
127	30.—Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles.	984	3,208	5,565	—72.4	— 45.3
128	31.—Trade in chemical products	1,913	1,811	562	+ 5.6	+222.2
	32.—Cafes, restaurants, etc. ...	1,771	1,921	2,045	— 7.5	— 6.2

N.B.—Figures of 1901 marked with an asterisk are approximate.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.

Particulars of Establishments employing 20 or more persons in 1911 and 1921.

PART A.

Details of Ownership.

Establishments employing 20 or more persons.				Industries.		
				Tea.	Coal.	Rice and Oil Mills.
1				2	3	4
Total Establishment ...	...	...	{ 1921 ... 782 1911 ... 609	4	6	11
(i) Directed by Government or Local Authorities.	...	...	{ 1921 ... 1911 ...	...	...	...
(ii) Directed by Registered companies	...	...	{ 1921 ... 629 1911 ... 506	4	6	1
(iii) Owned by private persons—						
(a) European or Anglo-Indian	...	...	{ 1921 ... 55 1911 ... 55	...	...	...
(b) Indian	...	...	{ 1921 ... 98 1911 ... 48	...	...	11
(c) Others	...	...	{ 1921 ... 1911 ...	...	...	3

PART B.

Details of Establishment

Establishments employing 20 or more persons.			Industries.				
			All Industries.	Growing of special products.	Collieries.	Petroleum.	Wood Industries.
1			2	3	4	5	6
Number of persons employed	...	...	{ 1921 ... 530,435 1911 ... 501,606	{ 1921 ... 519,225 1911 ... 493,761	{ 1921 ... 3,158 1911 ... 2,810	{ 1921 ... 2,087 1911 ... 1,010	{ 1921 ... 2,106 1911 ... 1,172
(a) Directed by Supervision and clerical.	...	...	{ 1921 ... 7,325 1911 ... 5,318	{ 1921 ... 6,720 1911 ... 5,062	{ 1921 ... 81 1911 ... 32	{ 1921 ... 106 1911 ... 47	{ 1921 ... 134 1911 ... 51
(b) Skilled workmen	...	...	{ 1921 ... 8,237 1911 ... 7,258	{ 1921 ... 5,607 1911 ... 5,322	{ 1921 ... 409 1911 ... 313	{ 1921 ... 319 1911 ... 260	{ 1921 ... 340 1911 ... 158
(c) Unskilled labour	...	...	{ 1921 ... 514,873 1911 ... 459,030	{ 1921 ... 506,898 1911 ... 483,377	{ 1921 ... 2,668 1911 ... 2,465	{ 1921 ... 1,662 1911 ... 703	{ 1921 ... 1,632 1911 ... 963
(i) Adult women per 1,000 adult men.	...	...	{ 1921 ... 879 1911 ... 914	{ 1921 ... 905 1911 ... 932	{ 1921 ... 194 1911 ... 342	{ 1921 ... 344 1911 ... 359	{ 1921 ... 260 1911 ... 365
(ii) Children (of both sexes) per 1,000 adults.	...	...	{ 1921 ... 176 1911 ... 222	{ 1921 ... 179 1911 ... 225	{ 1921 ... 77 1911 ... 18	{ 1921 ... 108 1911 ... 29	{ 1921 ... 95 1911 ... 76

SUBSIDIARY TABLE XIII.

Distribution of Power.

Type of power used.	Total Number of Industrial Establishments.	Number of Establishments under—										Remarks.
		I—Growing of special products.	II—Mines.	III—Textile Industries.	IV—Wood Industries.	V—Metal Industries.	VI—Glass and earthenware Industries.	VII—Industries connected with chemical products.	VIII—Food Industries.	X—Construction in connection with the means of transport and communication.	XI—Industries of luxury.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
(Total with Power) ...	611	539	5	3	13	4	1	13	3	5	2	...
Steam ...	512	471	4	2	12	2	1	13	3	4	...	...
Oil ...	91	81	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	4	2	...
Water ...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gas ...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Electricity generated in the premises ...	2	1*	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* In seven other gardens electricity is used for lighting purposes.

APPENDICES.

more or less, must be accounted for by inaccuracy in the record of the vital occurrences; it may certainly be less than this, if I have underestimated the mortality among new emigrants, for instance, or overestimated that among those who re-emigrated. But the deficit must certainly be large. The Department of Public Health has found on testing certain areas that from 2 to 10 per cent. of births and deaths are unregistered, and it is well known that births are more often omitted than deaths from the register. It is true that corrections are made by the testing agency, but the corrections are only a fraction of the total errors.

In the 10 years 1911-1920 there were recorded 1,952,760 births and 1,862,415 deaths in the area under consideration. We have only to suppose that 10 per cent. of births and 2 per cent. of deaths were omitted—an average of only about 6 per cent. of *occurrences*—and the difference is more than explained. For this would give 216,978 unrecorded births and 38,621 such deaths—difference 178,352, against the 159,000 to be accounted for.

The quantitative exposition I have given is of course open to question as the data are very poor, but it can scarcely be doubted that the great divergence of the census from the vital statistics is due to the two causes shown operating together, (1) deaths of outsiders who have come to the province in the inter-censal period and (2) unequal inaccuracy in the vital record by omission of births more often than deaths. In any case it is clear that, so long as heavy immigration continues, even if accuracy improves, the vital statistics cannot be used in Assam for any calculations of population in inter-censal years.

The Apa Tanangs.

The Apa Tanangs or Ankas live in the valley of the Kal, a tributary of the Ranganadi. Their country is a very fertile flat valley, which is under irrigation. They are a prosperous and industrious people, very like Dailas in appearance but their language is different. Their villages are very large, consisting of more than 1,000 houses. (See Mr. Kerwood's report of 1911-12.)

The Dailas.

Divisions and politics.—The Dailas are hardly divided into clans but certain sections are given a general name, such as Togen, Silbung, etc. They are divided into many exogamous groups called Nyebu, e.g., Nyutur, Tana, etc. They have no chiefs and no social precedence. The village is the governing unit, and every member of the community has equal rights. The oldest and richest man in the village is usually looked on as headman. Tradition places their origin in the east.

I am sure that the practice of occasional polyandry mentioned by Dalton * never existed among the Dailas: in my experience of them I never heard of it, and a Daila would look on the practice with disgust.

Sex and race—beliefs.—The sun is regarded as a female and the moon as a male deity. The sun is the moon's wife. The Dailas claim to be descended from the sun and moon: they call the sun 'mother Sun' and the moon 'grandfather moon'. The moon's markings are regarded as a scar inflicted by the sun when she quarrelled with her husband and beat him severely.

Earthquakes are caused by the souls of the dead clearing the jungle on the road to their last abode under the earth. When an earthquake comes the Dailas say 'Listen, the earthquake is come,' and then all stand up on the spot where they are; if they remain sitting or lying someone will contract disease.

An eclipse is caused by the God Tammin eating up the sun or moon, owing to a quarrel about the moon taking a path over the place where Tammin was building his *chang*. It portends grievous trouble.

Funeral customs.—Funeral customs for those who die a natural death are similar to those of the Akas; but the hands are placed on the cheeks and the cloth round the body. The corpse is brought from the back door and placed on its side, with the head to the north and the face to the west. The rice-bowl, etc., hung in the basket on the arm of the post to the north of the grave are kept only two days for children and five days for adults.

For those who die an unnatural death, the customs are somewhat different *i.e.*, when death is due to a fall, or snake-bite or to being quarrelled to death, etc. The hands are in this case placed before the chin, and the *dao* and knife carried in life are put in the hands. The body is put in the grave facing south. If the dead man has killed a tiger or a man, the body is buried with the head to the north, but a *dao* is put in the right hand, in the belief that the spirit of the tiger or the man will be afraid of the *dao* and so will not attack him.

In some sections, especially the Togens, when a man has been killed by a tiger, the body is put in the grave in a sitting position but a hole is left and a few hairs of the head are drawn out and tied to a piece of the top part of a bamboo fixed from a distance, where it is posted for the purpose. Should the hair give way and the bamboo stand up, it is a sign of trouble to the family; that is one more man of the family may be killed by a tiger some time after.

Future life.—The Dailas' beliefs as to a future state are similar to those of the Akas, but they believe that there are villages under the earth of people who die a natural death and villages in heaven of those who die an unnatural death and of children and the still-born.

Physical type.—The people are very well made and muscular, with a decidedly Mongolian cast of face. There is no hair on the men's faces. They (the men) have straight hair, which they wear drawn forward over the head and bound in a bunch over the forehead with yellow strings and long brass pins. The women plait their hair and bind the plaits round their heads in a very becoming fashion.

Dress.—The men wear a rough home-made cloth tied on the shoulders and wrapped round the body; round the waist they wear a number of plaited cane strings. Women have a short skirt, and a cloth round the upper part of the body; also many rings made of plaited cane round their bodies, and a belt of *mitan* skin five inches broad with several metal discs fixed on it. Bead necklaces are much worn by both sexes, yellow and blue being the chief colours.

Implements and weapons.—Their system of cultivation is similar to the Akas', but they use only the *dao* and a pointed bamboo and not the small iron hoe of the Akas.

They have no guns. The weapons are the bow and arrow (with aconite poison), a long spear and a long *dao* or sword. They wear cane helmets, more or less sword-proof, and a shield and body armour of *mitan* hide; sometimes also cane armlets as a guard against sword-cuts.

II.—By T. P. M. O'CALLAGHAN, I.P., POLITICAL OFFICER, SADIYA FRONTIER TRACT.

The Khamtis.

Character and habits.—The Khamtis settled in our area are a race degenerated from their state described in Dalton's time.† The villages are jungle-covered, and peopled by a lackadaisical and opium-sodden people (although it is a question whether opium is a cause of the degeneration or whether the habit is an effect of the climate and surroundings and the mental paralysis induced by these peculiar local conditions).

* Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 1872.

† Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 1872.

not pronouncedly so. The aquiline noses often found among the Taroan are seldom seen in these tribes. In general physique they are squat, well built, sturdy and broad-shouldered; the head is square rather than long and narrow.

Musical instruments are (1) drums covered with lizard's skin, and (2) horns of buffalo; these are only used by medicine men. But the Jew's harp is known.

Weapons.—Their weapons are the longbow and the Tibetan cutting sword. Their arrows are poisoned with aconite. They wear cane helmets.

They look on the *kuluk* as sacred, and it is *genau* to kill one: it is considered as half human.

Incest, that is, marriage or sexual connection within forbidden degrees, is described as 'conduct like the monkeys.'

The Mishmis (Taroan and Mij).

Divisions and origin.—These tribes are divided into endogamous groups and exogamous septs or families. Some of the Taroans claim that they were formerly the same people as the Chalikatas (and the claim is admitted by those tribes). They speak the same language and some of their customs are the same. Some of the points of difference are noted below:—

Disposal of the dead.—After a death, the body is washed for a day, for an unimportant person; but up to 3 days for an important person. It is then buried for 5 days and afterwards is taken up and burnt. A circular roofed stockade is built on the place where the body was burnt—usually about 10 or 20 yards from the house. Arms, clothing and utensils are hung up round the grave, and streamers on long bamboo poles are put round.

Beliefs about future state.—The ideas as to a future state are vague. The dead are said to go down into the earth. There are medicine men who speak with and do 'puja' to the spirits of evil; ordinary men know nothing of these.

Physical types.—In appearance the Taroans and Mijus are sturdy and sallowish. Their hair is straight and is not cut. The eyes are straight and blackish-brown. The nose is generally flat but not very broad; but there are many with regular aquiline noses and handsome features.

Weapons.—The weapon in use is the crossbow, and aconite poison is put on the arrows. They do not use cane helmets.

Wives.—Generally, when a man dies, his wives go to his heir, except the latter's mother, who goes to the next-of-kin among the male relatives (cf. Marco Polo's Tartars).

III.—By R. C. R. CUMMING, I.P., LATELY ASSISTANT POLITICAL OFFICER, PASSIGHAT, SADIYA FRONTIER TRACT.

The Abors.

Habitat.—The term Abor is applied, though erroneously, to those tribes living on the southern slopes of the outer range of the Himalayas, roughly between the Dibang and Subansiri rivers, and, within the hills, in the main valley of the Dibang, with the Yamna and Siyom valleys as offshoots.

Names of tribes.—The tribesmen use the names of their tribes, and the word Abor is unknown except among the more civilized. They also call themselves *adi-ami* (hillmen). 'Abor' is generally applied to the Padam, Minyong, Fasi, Galong and six other tribes. We are in contact with the first four of these. All of them have traditions showing that they came from the same place and are descended from the same stock, but the dialects of some differ.

Exogamous divisions.—All are divided into exogamous clans and particular care is taken to prevent intermarriage. Among the Padam the rule has been relaxed of late years owing to the size of the clans. Each clan is subdivided into smaller clan or families with endogamy strictly forbidden within them. Heavy penalties are exacted for any breach of the rules. The Pasi, Padam and Minyong frequently intermarry, but there is only one known case of the present day of a Galong marrying into one of the first three tribes.

Polyandry.—Polyandry is common among the Galong, and is not necessarily confined to the poor. For instance it is quite usual in this tribe for brothers to have sexual intercourse with each others' wives until they have given birth to their first children.

No instances, however, of this appear to have come to notice among the other tribes, not even among the Miris—unless the latter are Galong turned Miri, i.e., Galongs who have descended to the plains and have either become absorbed into Miri villages or have, though living in separate villages, largely adopted Miri habits.

Division into 'mipak' and 'missing'.—Among the Pasi, Padam and Minyong tribes there is no division into classes with a definite social order of precedence by clan; but every member is either 'mipak' or 'missing,' i.e., considered caste or not. 'Mipak' has nothing to do with exogamy. Certain persons and families, however, have been considered *mipak* for some generations, and sexual intercourse with them suffices to make the other party *mipak*, and so on. Brothers and sisters of a *mipak* are not *mipak* unless they have become so by heredity.

A *missing* is free to marry a *mipak*, but this is not generally done, if the fact is known.

Among the Galongs the same divisions occur, but certain entire clans are *mipak* (the Galongs call it *nira*) and the division is more marked. The Galongs consider the other three tribes (Pasi, Padam and Minyong) *mipak*, and *vice versa*. All the tribes regard the Assamese, Miris, etc., as *mipak*. Slaves or serfs, where they exist, are also *mipak*.

women and children all cut their hair like the men, but the Galong women grow their hair long, drawing it back along the sides of the head and leaving an even parting down the centre; it is drawn back so tightly that it often has the appearance of being painted on like that of a Dutch doll.

Implements.—There are no special agricultural implements among any of the tribes; everything is done with the *dao* and the axe. For sowing, four or five seeds are placed together in a hole with the aid of a pointed stick.

Music.—A crude form of bagpipes is common to all the tribes; this is the chief and practically the only form of musical instrument. A dry gourd takes the place of the wind-bag, and a special form of fine bamboo the chanter and pipes. There are three pipes besides the chanter, which is perforated and played with the fingers in the ordinary way. Another instrument found is a sort of Jew's harp of bamboo and fibre.

Weapons.—The chief weapons are the bow and arrow, the *dao*, and a long Tibetan sword. The sword is only carried in time of war.

For head dress and for protection against sword-cuts, hats of plaited cane are worn. These are worn a good deal also in time of peace, especially by those living further back in the hills. The Galong hat is of different shape, very often resembling an up-to-date bowler hat.

There is no history of head-hunting among these tribes. When enemies are killed in battle, the hands are occasionally cut off and hung up in the *mostup* or council-chamber; the head is never cut off.

Very little tribal fighting has occurred among these tribes, their motto being that the tongue is mightier than the sword.

Unlike their eastern neighbors, the Mishmis, killing their fellow-men has been and is still regarded as a serious offence: this forbearance, however, only applies to themselves.

The Miris (of Sadiya Frontier Tract).

Origin and divisions.—The Miris are mostly descended from the Abors living on the banks of the Dihing, Brahmaputra and Dihang. Their language is similar and their customs are very similar to those of the Abors, but Hinduism is rapidly changing those furthest away from the hill people. There are four big clans. Two of these descended from the hills not many generations ago, but many are escaped or driven out slaves of the Abors. The Chutia clan of Miris is supposed to have come up the Brahmaputra and mingled with the others. Probably, though, they came first from the hills and went on for a safe distance, returning afterwards upstream. Before the British occupation of the Abor country the Miris were traders and interpreters between the Abors and the British. There is no social division into classes.

These big clans are divided into smaller exogamous clans kept as distinct as possible, but of late years there has been much intermarrying and relationships have become involved.

The organization is democratic. When near the Abors, the Miris adhere to the Abor custom of *kebangs*.

Appearance.—They are of sallow complexion, similar to the Abors. Their features are the same, but the hair is either kept long and knotted at the back or is cut evenly round the head. The latter is the modern fashion. The women wear their hair long and drawn back straight, but without a parting. The physique is good on the whole. The eyes are as a rule black, the forehead broad and the nostrils wide; the face is flat and round.

Weapons.—For weapons they use the bow and arrow and have also a few old guns. There is a special long kind of arrow for shooting fish. All carry a *dao*. There is no trace of head-hunting among the Miris, and their weapons are carried for the chase only.

The beliefs of the Miris of the Sadiya tract about the sun and moon are similar to those of the Abors.

Burial of the dead.—The dead are buried, and the corpse is laid flat on the back, with the hands clasped under the chin and the legs out straight. A double lean-to log is made over the body to stop earth falling on it, and another double lean-to over the top of the grave. When *bhakats* or village priests are buried the soil is not kept off them, but the grave is filled up in the ordinary way. No reason for this is known.

IV.—BY G. C. BARDALOI, EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER.

The Miris (of Lakhimpur District).

Divisions.—There are really no exogamous clans, as, though there are clans not as a rule inter-marrying, yet run-away marriages are prevalent, and the parties are not ex-communicated. But, they may be grouped into two exogamous divisions composed of several clans:—1. The Chutia (Dole, Pegu, etc.); 2. Aingya (Taot, etc.), Mayangiya (Nara, etc.) and others.

The class-ship tie is much loosened, and social precedence undetermined, as all are now living peacefully under the Government. Every clan claims superiority to others. Probably the Dole and Pegu are first and then the Mayangiya and Dambukial.

Headmen.—Chiefs in a clan are chosen always from that clan, from the *gam's* family or if necessary from his relatives on the male side. There is no special clan for supplying *gams* or headmen. The Miris have a social democratic organization, with the *gam* as president, but he cannot overrule the combined wishes of the people. Originally each clan had one *gari*, even when living in different villages. Now each village has generally a *gam*.

APPENDIX C.

ON THE CONNECTION OF DIFFERENT NAGA AND OTHER TRIBES IN ASSAM,
THEIR ORIGINS AND CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

By J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E., I.C.S., DEPUTY COMMISSIONER NAGA HILLS, AND HONORARY DIRECTOR OF
ETHNOGRAPHY, ASSAM.

Naga-shablat.—A love for old sites has often been asserted of Naga tribes in contrast with the Kukis, Garos, Kacharis and others. But this is not true of all Nagas. It is marked only among the Angamis and even they count back to a migratory stage.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to give a test by which to distinguish a Naga tribe from other Assam and Burma non-Nagas. Naga is a useful word to denote the tribes living in the area bounded on the north-east by the Hukong Valley, on the north-west by the Brahmaputra Valley plains, on the south-west by the Cachar plains, on the east by the Chindwin and on the south by the Manipur Valley, which last is the contact point roughly with the Kukis (Thaïos, Lushais, etc.).

Immigrations of the past.—This area has received in the past at least three great waves of immigration:—

- (1) From Tibet and Nepal (Singphos, Akas, Garos and Kacharis).
- (2) From Southern China across the Irawadi Valley (the Tai races—Shans, Ahoms, Tamans, etc.).
- (3) From the south. This wave has hardly stopped yet, for Lushai-Kuki migration was still going on northward till 1918, when it was stopped from spreading into the unexplored area north of the Ti-Ho river by driving the newly-formed colonies back across the river, before the Kuki operations.

The *Lushai*, *Thado* and other *Kuki* tribes are probably another branch of the immigration from the north; but if so, they must have first gone south and then turned north again for they drove up from the south in front of them the old Kukis, and perhaps that very different race which became the predominating factor in the Angami Naga tribe and which has probably entered in a lesser degree into some of its neighbours.

The *Angamis* (or the ancestors of part of the present tribe) were undoubtedly located far to the south of the present Naga Hills.

Also we have (4) still another immigrant element in the Kol-Mon-Annam occupation, which certainly extended over a part of the present Naga area. The Bodo race itself seems to be connected with the Munda and Mon-Khmer families, and all were probably preceded by a Negrito race, such as the Andamanese are, which was partly expelled partly absorbed. Traces of all the above races are to be found in the culture and composition of the tribes now known as 'Nagas' collectively.

Traditions of origin of Naga tribes.—Naga traditions of origin indicate almost all points of the compass:—

- (a) The *Konyak* tribes ascribe their origin to the hills to the north and to migration from the plains in the west and north-west as well; though others with Singpho affinities say that they came from the north-east. One or two villages claim to have come from the south (the Ao country).
- (b) Some of the *Aos* like some of the *Lhotas* are said to have come from the plains to the north-west, but the majority claim an autochthonous origin at Chonghemdi.
- (c) The *Khoirao*s claim a western origin, from the plains of Assam.
- (d) The *Semas* say that they came from the south. A connection is traceable between them and the *Khoirao*s of Ngari, pointing to a western origin. These *Semas* of western origin connect with the Kacharis, Garos, Lyngams and Bhois. The Kacharis, while allowing Nagas, or certainly Kacheha Nagas, to eat and sleep in their porches, refuse to allow Kukis inside at all, holding that Kacharis and Nagas were originally descended from two brothers, whereas Kukis are complete aliens.
- (e) Others, for instance the *Kalyo-Kengyu* tribe, claim a northern origin.
- (f) The *Southern Sangtams* derive from the Chindwin Valley to the south-east, while the *Northern Sangtams* merely point to the south. The Tamans in the Chindwin Valley lived at one time in the hills to the east and then returned to the Valley leaving some of the tribe behind. These might be connected with the Southern Sangtams. In any case they trace their origin to southern China, and their descendants are still presumably represented among the Naga tribes.
- (g) The *Angami* also afford indications of mixed origin. They came from the south-east, first from Tangkhul country to the south, but traces of terraced cultivation are found far to the south in the Lushai Hills and possibly they came from further south still. The Angamis regard a spirit in the sky as the ancestress of them all. Part of the tribe claim a southern and part a south-western origin.
- (h) The *Rengmas* say that their origin was in the south.

Lycanthropy is practised by the Semas but not by the Angamis, though believed in by both. So in the Khasi Hills with the Lyngams and Khasis respectively.

In folk-lore, some stories are common to all tribes of Nagas and others are not.

In language there is a decided cleavage of certain groups. The north-eastern group seem to approach nearer to Bodo and Kuki than to the Central Naga tribal languages.

Conclusion as to origin of Nagas.—My conclusion is that no Naga tribe is of pure blood. The tribes are combined of elements due to immigration from at any rate three directions, north-east, north-west and southern, the people having been pushed up from the plains of Assam and Burma by pressure. We may speculate that at a certain stage a Negrito race, at a later an Austric race of Kol-Annam or Mon-Khmer type was in occupation, leaving traces in the implements and perhaps folk tales now found. Then came a definitely Bodo immigration from the north-west or west, and by this perhaps the Y-shaped posts, reaping by hand and indications of a matrilineal system have been left. There is, beyond dispute, a mixture of Tai blood from the east also. The immigration wave from the south is obvious enough, and possibly brought up elements of population from southern Burma wedged in among migrating tribes. The Angamis are probably related to the Igorot and possibly other Philippine tribes by blood or culture or both. Further, these southern immigrants perhaps already consisted of two parts, one settled and cultured, the other barbarous but warlike; and the Angamis may have inherited certain customs from both parts of the tide. On the other hand it is possible that they contain some Aryan element from the other side of India caught up among migrating tribes. Lewin ascribes such an origin to the Chakmas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Davis finds Aryan blood among the Lolos of Yunnan. The Angamis are quite as likely to have it as either of these.

APPENDIX E.

Summary of notes on some cottage industries of Karinganji.

(By K. C. PURKAYASTHA, M.A.)

I.—HANDLOOM WEAVING.

1. Twenty years back this industry was on the decline in this district and very nearly dying.

History.

It received a tremendous stimulus as a result of the *sicadeshi* movement of the partition days. While middle class youths lost time and money in trying to earn a living from the loom, the hereditary weavers, the Naths (Jugis), found a saviour in the weaving movement; and the war by inflating prices brought them prosperity.

2. The demand for their output is mainly local and rural and therefore only for coarse cloth.

Consumption.

The demand varies with the season. The busy season is winter—from mid-November to February—when cotton wrappers 3 yards \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds. or 6 yds. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds. have a very strong market, while full sized *dhutis* 5 yds. \times 44" are also actively sold. The slack season is roughly from April to September.

During the busy season the weekly sale at Narsingpur Hôt reaches Rs. 50,000 (on the testimony of expert weavers); while during the slack season I calculated a total weekly sale of Rs. 5,000.

3. *Charka*-spun yarn has not found favour with the Nath's on account of the tedious process

Production.

necessary to prepare it for use in fly-shuttle looms. Manchester yarn is almost exclusively used. 12's and 14's are the counts chiefly woven; finer yarn is rather of an exception. Ignorance of methods of dyeing fast colours leaves the Naths at a disadvantage compared with Julas of the neighbouring Bengal districts of Tipperah and Noakhali. Fly-shuttle looms are made by local carpenters from local wood or with bamboo frame work, at cost ranging from Rs. 15 in the former case and Rs. 9 in the latter.

Like most cottage industries weaving is done in the intervals of cultivation, and the whole family participates. Usually one adult weaver will have two underworkers (locally called *jogalis*) and will turn out 10 pairs of $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. coarse *dhutis* per week, unless farm work happens to be specially heavy. He usually works in two shifts. The morning shift may continue till 11 A.M. He resumes work again in the afternoon at about 4 P.M. In the busy season he begins his first shift early and leaves off work late at night. During the off season or when agricultural work is heavy he stops weaving or reduces his hours.

4. One interesting feature of this industry is that it is almost entirely on a cash basis; little

Distribution, purchase and sale.

business is done on credit. The Marwari merchants, who till now control the market and dictate prices, demand ready cash for their yarn. The weaver brings his cloth to the market, when middlemen purchase it from him for cash. The middleman (locally *paikar*) sells it to retailers for cash. This is perhaps the only industry in which there has so far been no serious grievance against the middlemen, who, by the way, are themselves Naths. But with oversupply—local supply exceeding the local demand—the middlemen will become a menace to the weavers. And at the time of writing signs are not wanting that the danger is not far ahead.

5. The chief mart is Narsingpur. It is owned and managed by the Nath community for their

Marts.

own benefit and has 500 members on roll. It meets weekly on Thursdays from about 12 A.M. to 2 P.M. The sales range from Rs. 5,000 per week in the slack season to Rs. 50,000 per week during the busy months. I estimate that the total annual sale comes to about Rs. 6,00,000. The total sale of yarn at Karinganji is over 6,00,000 and my calculation is that when woven the market value of the cloth is roughly Rs. 9,00,000 for the whole subdivision.

6. Prices at Narsingpur are quoted in terms of per 4 pairs (locally *hali*). At the time of my enquiry the mean quotation was Rs. 11 per *hali* for 9 cubit *dhutis* or nearly 5 annas per yard length.

At the time of my enquiry cost and profits to the weaver worked out as under:—

Revenue (per week).		Cost (per week).	
Rs.	a.	Rs.	a.
10 pairs of $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. <i>dhutis</i> at Rs. 11		2 bundles of yarn (12's and 14's)	
per <i>hali</i> (4 pairs)	...	at Rs. 10	...
	27 8	Dye	...
			Nil
			20 0
		Net profit (per week)	7 8
			27 8

Hence monthly earnings of the family would be Rs. 30, provided they work average time for the whole month. As a matter of fact, full time is not put in, I have been told, except during the season. This profit can go up to Rs. 52 and more if they weave 40's or higher counts. But of manufacturing for distant markets, for want of any form of modern organisation.

4. The system has completely demoralised the Namasudra mat-maker. The chain of unnecessary middlemen leaves him too small a margin even for mere animal existence and his only escape now from the operation of this heartless exploitation is through underhand sale. The problem is to eliminate the now useless *pāyādār* and smaller merchants and to bring the matmakers into direct touch with the evedores, brick fields, and jute centres, or at least with the exporting merchants of Karimganj. As regards the latter, the following table will show how far the producer will benefit by it :—

Price of mats purchased by Karimganj exporters.	Distribution of the sum of Rs. 100 (sale price).			
	To cost of materials.	Profit of producer.	Profit of <i>pāyādār</i> .	Profit of smaller merchant.
1	2	3	4	5
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
100	58 (58 per cent.)	21 (21 per cent.)	10 8 (10·5 per cent.)	10 8 (10·5 per cent.)

By eliminating these two unnecessary middlemen by the simple process of organising co-operative sale societies, the income of the Namasudras could be doubled.

III.—PATI.

Pati, also known as *sitalpati*, i.e., cool mat, is one of those old industries of which Sylhet is justly proud. A hundred years back, *sitalpati* made from ivory, formed a regular article of manufacture in Sylhet. But the industry is now not merely decaying but actually dead, and the delicate art of making *patis* out of ivory is possibly lost too. I saw a specimen of ivory *pati* in 1906.

*Murta** cane *patis*, however, are now having an increasingly large volume of business. The present note is confined to *murta patis* only.

1. Qualities and uses :—

(1) Ordinary qualities are used as—

- A covering for the bedstead.
- Something to place under the bed.
- A convenient "Camp chair" in villages to spread out when there are guests to receive.

(2) *Shāp* or long *pati*—for ceremonial occasions, meetings and musical performances.

(3) *Sitalpati* (proper) :—

Very fine pieces are spread out on the bed during summer and form luxuriously cool coverings that easily induce sleep. They are real works of art, and good pieces 2½ yards × 1½ yards may command a price up to Rs. 100 each.

(4) Floor mats :—

European sojourners in the plains use it as a floor covering, for which purpose furnishers will cut up a long *pati* and weave the sides into perfectly whole joints with the appearance of one single *pati* exactly fitting the room.

2. Direction of the demand—

Ordinary *patis* are strongly in demand all over Eastern and Northern Bengal. Calcutta is a brisk selling centre, while Burma is a paying market. Upper Assam is taking larger quantities every year. Mymensingh seems to be able to consume cheap *patis* almost in any quantity.

The demand might increase very greatly, if efficient organisation for pushing on sale existed. Here I foresee a wide field for co-operative sale societies.

3.—Location of the industry—

The chief centres of the trade are :—

- Balaganj (for finer qualities).
- Daser Bazar (for medium qualities).
- Kaliganj (for coarse kinds).

* *Maranta* or *Clinogyne dichotoma* (Ass. *patidol*).

7. The following is the calculation of earnings at Daser Bazar, where only men work. At Kaliganj, where families work, earnings are greater and the *pati* makers are comparatively prosperous:—

Number of workers.	Time required for—			Output per week	Income per week.	Net monthly income.	Remarks.
	Procuring cane.	Preparing cane.	Weaving.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 adult ...	1 day ...	2 days ...	4 days ...	2 full <i>patis</i>	At Rs. 1-4 each Rs. 2-8.	Rs. 10	Working full time.

N.B.—The calculations are for average workers only. Expert makers can earn more.

What profits the middlemen make, it is difficult to gauge without a study of the markets to which they export. They are mostly outside the province. It is, however, interesting to know that at Daser Bazar, middlemen purchase for outside merchants on a commission of 6½ per cent. Distant firms send representatives who purchase through these people. The middlemen purchasing on their risk and account are financed by certain local people who charge no interest, but in lieu thereof share 25 per cent. of the profits. At Daser Bazar, with the exception of one Mahomedan, all middlemen and their financiers are Das by caste. At Kaliganj the business is entirely controlled by Mahomedans.

IV.—FISHING NETS.

1. A large and brisk trade in fishing nets is carried on in Karimganj. The industry is familiar but too unobtrusive to attract public attention. The demand for nets comes from the fish-catching classes, *viz.*, the Mahimals among Mahomedans and among the Hindus, chiefly the Patnis.

Besides the local demand for nets, Cachar is a large buyer and consumes about Rs. 50,000 worth annually.

2. The chief centres of production are roughly two, Sheola-Bairagi Bazar centre and Jaldhup centre. Angarjar and Balinga, near Sheola, are the two largest net-producing villages.

The makers are almost exclusively Patnis by caste. The net makers may be classed under 3 heads:—

- (i) *Occasional workers*.—With the majority of men of this caste, it is a subsidiary occupation, the principal being agriculture, boat-plying and fish-catching being the second.
- (ii) *Half-time workers*.—Landless Patnis whose principal sources of income are (a) boat-plying, (b) net making and fishing.
- (iii) At Balinga and Angarjar, there are landless families whose sole occupation is net making and fishing.

Usually fishing nets are made only from hemp, much of which has to be imported, as the local supply is insufficient. But the spinning of hemp is difficult and there is a tendency to substitute mill-made cotton yarn both for its cheapness and the ease of its manufacture into nets. But cotton nets are much weaker and less durable. This year's rate for hemp is said to be Rs. 15 per maund.

According to their sizes, which are determined by the purpose for which they are meant, fishing nets are classed as follows:—(1) *Mahajal* (great net) for fishing in big rivers. These are made to order only and may cost up to several hundred rupees; (2) *Jal* (ordinary net) 7 yards × 7 yards. This is the size most in demand; (3) *Pelain*, a triangular net from 2 to 3½ cubits long, for catching small fish.

The quality varies—

- (a) according to the strength of the string used (2- or 3- ply thread); and
- (b) according to the size of the intervening mesh (from 1 to 3 fingers' breadth).

3. Prices of nets, unlike the output of most cottage industries here, are subject to violent fluctuations. A slump caused by the sudden falling off in demand often reduces prices by as much as 50 per cent. This is possibly due largely to the market being entirely controlled by a small coterie of capitalist middlemen (also of the Patni caste).

The normal rise of prices occurs once in autumn (October and November) when the standing flood water begins to subside and there is a record catch of fish. The demand falls off gradually in winter and does not revive till the monsoon breaks in April. The difference in the level of prices between the 4 active months and the 8 slack months is accentuated by the poverty of the manufacturers and their consequent inability to withhold even temporarily the sale of the output. The selling price of ordinary nets of 7 × 7 yards varies from Rs. 4 to Rs. 25 according to thread and mesh. The monthly savings of a single man working half-time and getting his hemp spun for cash would be about Rs. 7-8. But in point of fact, the industry is worked on the family system. The women spin the hemp while men make the nets. Family profits therefore include profits of spinning as well as of weaving.

APPENDIX. F.

FAMILY BUDGETS.*

1. Cultivator—Nowgong.

Village—Ghilani, thana Jamunamukh, mauza Kampur.

(a) A family of seven members.—Three males, one being old, one boy of about 12 and one full grown man, two females of full grown age and two infant girls. The females do household work such as cooking, house keeping, etc. They do not help in the field work.

Annual income.				Expenditure.			
			Rs.				Rs.
Paddy grown and taken 100 maunds, value			300	Paddy consumed 56 maunds, price ...			168
				Salt, oil, spices, etc.			36
Matikalai			36	Cloth			100
				Fish			60
Sale-proceeds of vegetables and poultry			60	Fodder for cattle, etc.			36
				Expenses for guests, birth and death, etc.			60
Fish caught and consumed			60	Religious and medical expenses ...			36
				Price of milk			60
Cattle sold and hired out and milk sold			100	Interest paid			5
				Land Revenue			20
Loan taken... ..			50				
Total			696	Total			581

Majority of the people are in this state of economic distress, only 5 per cent. of the villagers are in better condition but about 20 per cent. are in worse condition.

2. Cultivator—Lakhimpur.

<i>Family</i> —Ordinary <i>Miri</i> cultivator :—Village—Bhadia Chuk, <i>Miri mahal</i> —Thana, Dibrugarh.		Male adult	2
		Female adult	2
		Male child	3
		Female child	1
		Total	8

Annual income.				Expenditure.			
			Rs. a. p.				Rs. a. p.
Paddy and mustard... ..			762 0 0	A—Food.			
				Rice			365 0 0
Value of fish caught and consumed			50 0 0	Salt			5 0 0
				Oil			18 0 0
Commission as Gum			25 0 0	Spices			3 4 0
				Fish			50 0 0
Loan			30 0 0	Pulse			2 0 0
				Tea			5 12 0
				B.			
Total			867 0 0	Betel-nut			11 8 0
				Kerosine oil			1 10 0
				Tobacco and molasses			9 12 0
				Clothes			33 0 0
				Country liquor			47 0 0
				C.			
				Festivals			80 0 0
				Depreciation in plough bullocks ...			5 0 0
				Purchase of implements			5 0 0
				Poll-tax			6 0 0
				Repayment of debt... ..			30 0 0
				Interest			9 6 0
				Lent			20 0 0
				Total			702 4 0
				Balance in <i>dhan</i>			164 12 0
				Grand total			867 0 0

* Remarks added in some of the budgets are opinions of the particular enquiring officers.

5. *Tea-garden coolie—Sibsagar (Jorhat).*

CINAMARA TEA ESTATE.

Family—1 male (Leboo Dhandasi-Telugu) adult, 1 female adult (working), 1 boy 6 years (non-working), 1 girl 4 years (non-working).

Works in tea-house for part of year, in garden for remainder.

Monthly income.				Monthly expenditure.			
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Pay for man ...	9	8	0	Rice ...	8	8	0
Pay for wife ...	8	8	0	Salt ...	0	2	0
Value of paddy grown in his own land Rs. 20 for the whole year, i.e., Re. 1-10-0 per month ...	1	10	0	Oil ...	0	7	0
				Spices and small fish ...	0	10	0
				Pulses ...	0	12	0
				Vegetables ...	0	3	0
				Sugar, etc. ...	0	4	0
Total ...	19	10	0	<i>Other household expenses.</i>			
				Betel-nut ...	0	5	0
This family is an average good tea-garden family. The family is a little above the average.				Tobacco ...	0	12	0
				Kerosene oil... ..	0	3	0
				Clothes ...	3	3	0
				Liquor ...	2	0	0
				Household utensil ...	0	3	0
				<i>C—Miscellaneous.</i>			
				Domestic festivals ...	0	8	0
				Hire of cattle ...	0	2	0
				Rent ...	0	4	0
				Total ...	18	11	0

It is estimated that 20 per cent. of the families on the garden are above this standard, 30 per cent. of this standard and the remainder below.

6. *Tea-garden coolies—Sylhet.**Caste—Oriya (South Sylhet).*

Man, wife, sister (aged), old mother, child—2½ workers.

Yearly Budget.

Receipts.				Expenditure.			
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Wages ...	204	12	0	Rice ...	104	0	0
Advance agreement ...	22	0	0	Salt ...	3	4	0
Bonus, monthly... ..	9	0	0	Oil ...	3	4	0
House repairs ...	2	0	0	Spices ...	1	10	0
Medical ...	6	0	0	Fish ...	1	10	0
Bed bags ...	1	0	0	Pulse ...	3	4	0
				Vegetables ...	3	4	0
Total ...	244	12	0	Milk ...	5	11	0
				Gur ...	5	11	0
				Kerosene ...	3	4	0
				Tobacco ...	7	5	0
				Liquor ...	52	0	0
				House repairs ...	2	0	0
				Medical ...	6	0	0
				Festivities ...	2	0	0
				Clothes ...	16	7	0
				Bed bags ...	1	0	0
				Utensils ...	2	0	0
				Total ...	223	10	0

APPENDIX.

13. Earth worker on roads—Goalpara.
Thana—Bilasipara.Number of members in the family.
Workers—{ Male 1
Female 1

Dependants.

Nil

Items of income.

Rs.

225

A—Food.

Rice

Salt

Oil

Spices

Fish

Pulses

Vegetables

Milk and ghee

Tea, sugar, etc.

Live-stock

B—Other household expenditure.

Betel-nut

Kerosene oil

Tobacco and molasses

Cloths

Opium, ganja or liquor

Household utensils

C—Miscellaneous.

House repair and materials

Domestic festivals and enter-

tainment.

Purchase of implements

Land revenue or rent...

Local taxation...

Other expenses (Remittance

to parents by M. O.)

Total

225

Rs. a. p.

96 0 0

3 0 0

8 4 0

1 8 0

6 0 0

27 0 0

9 0 0

Nil.

3 0 0

1 8 0

Nil.

5 4 0

3 0 0

15 0 0

Nil.

1 0 0

10 0 0

6 0 0

3 0 0

5 4 0

0 6 0

20 4 0

224 6 0

Total

There are no local earth workers. This budget refers to a pair of up-country settlers who carry on their work throughout the year.

Total

14. General labourer—Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Shillong).

Constitution of family—1 male adult
1 female "
1 female child (14 years) worker
1 male child (6 years)—dependant.
1 " " (4 ") "
1 " " (2 ") "

6

Items of income—monthly

Rs. a. p.

Wages, working for

30 days on the average,

in a month—

1 male adult at annas 12

per diem

1 female adult at annas 6

per diem

1 female child at annas 4

per diem

Total income

15 0 0

7 8 0

5 0 0

27 8 0

A—Food.

Rice

Salt

Oil

Spices

Fish (dried and fresh)

Meat

Vegetables

Total

B—Other household expenses.

Betel-nut

Kerosene oil

Tobacco

Cloths

Opium, ganja and liquor

Household utensils

Total

C—Miscellaneous.

House repairs and materials

Medical expenses and pujas...

Purchase of implements

Other expenses (house-rent

Re. 1, fuel Rs. 2-S, soap,

etc., annas 8).

Total

Total expenditure

Items of expenditure—monthly.

Rs. a. p.

13 0 0

0 4 0

0 1 0

0 4 0

2 0 0

1 8 0

1 0 0

18 1 0

8 0 0

0 8 0

0 6 0

1 0 0

Nil.

0 8 0

5 1 0

Nil.

0 8 0

0 4 0

4 0 0

4 12 0

27 14 0

APPENDIX G.

*Estimate of production and average individual income at prices prevailing in 1921-22.**

[Crops according to estimates of Agriculture Department.]

—					Outturn (000's of maunds).	Average whole- sale price at chief marts.	Value of produce in lakhs of rupees.
1					2	3	4
						Rs. a. p.	
Rice (husked)	...	...	...	...	54,448	5 5 0 per maund.	28,92
Mustard	...	...	...	...	1,574	6 11 0 per maund.	1,05
Gur	...	...	...	...	867	9 0 0 per maund.	78
Jute	...	...	...	...	752	7 10 0	57
Other crops (cotton, sesamum, pulses, millets, roots, vegetables, fruits, etc.). Value estimated according to areas reported cultivated					...	...	5,23
Tea (value of exports 8,78 crores ; value to Assam taken at half this)					...	...	4,39
Coal, taken at annas 7 per maund <i>ex-mines</i>					8,441	...	87
Petroleum, taken at anna 1 per gallon of crude oil <i>ex-</i> wells					9.5 million gallons.	...	6
Fish, caught and sold or consumed, estimated value					...	...	40
Silk, cloth, limestone, forest products and small manufac- tures, estimated value					...	...	60
Total					...	...	Rs. 42,87 lakhs.

Population of Assam (excluding Manipur) 7,606,230

Average money value of annual income per head, 1921-22, nearly ... Rs. 56

or per occupied house „ 266

* See Chapter XII, last paragraph. The calculation, which represents production value and not actual cash income to the average peasant, is only a rough approximation. Some items in the list have probably been much underestimated (e.g., fish and cloth); other items, such as live-stock profits, have been omitted.

No attempt has been made to estimate the shares of income taken by the trader, the money-lender and the rent-receiver on the one hand and the cultivator and wage-earner on the other.